



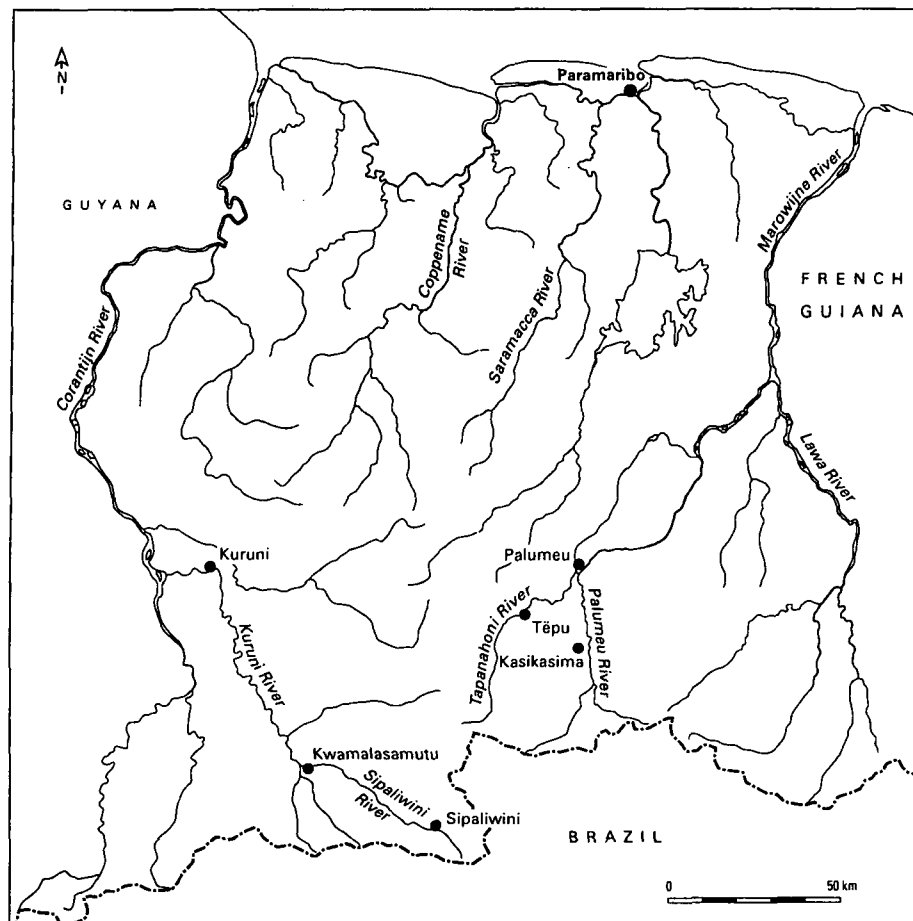
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Speech community formation : a sociolinguistic profile of the Trio of Suriname

Overview of the Trio language. Brings together both extralinguistic factors, such as historical, economic, sociological and cultural factors that have and still contribute to the present-day status of the Trio Amerindians and their language and internal sociolinguistic factors, that is, factors that influence the choice of what the Trio speak to whom, how, and when. Shows that Trio sociolinguistically-speaking is in a strong position.

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Current Trio settlements in Suriname

EITHNE B. CARLIN

SPEECH COMMUNITY FORMATION: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE OF THE TRIO OF SURINAME

Mar ná beidh ár leithéidí arís ann
Because the likes of us will never be again
Tomás Ó Criomhthain, An t-Oileánach

INTRODUCTION

Fear with a pinch of jealousy and contempt, based on a mutual lack of understanding or knowledge, could succinctly characterize the relationship obtaining between the coastal Creoles and the Amerindians of the interior of Suriname.¹ After the tenth warning, from various inhabitants of Paramaribo, to be careful I began to wonder what I had let myself in for. I was setting out to spend three months living with the Trio, to study their language and to document it before whatever malevolent forces might render either one of us in the past tense. Trio is namely one of the many vanishing Cariban languages in the Guianas. The urgency with which I started later seemed slightly misplaced as I learned to understand not just their language but also their resilience.

The ethnographic descriptions of the Trio that exist, range in scope from the records of early travelers and anthropologists to the extensive monograph of Peter Rivière (1969). Linguistic information, apart from some early wordlists, is utterly lacking, that is, we know next to nothing about the Trio language nor indeed about the group as a minority speech community. The present paper aims to fill this gap. In the following I bring together both *extralinguistic* factors such as historical, economic, sociological, and cultural factors that have and still contribute to and are crucial

in determining the present-day status of the Trio and their language and internal *sociolinguistic* factors, that is, factors that influence the choice of what the Trio speak to whom, how, and when. It will be shown that Trio is sociolinguistically-speaking in a strong position and that, paradoxically enough, it has undergone an expansion with other smaller groups assimilating to it. Another surprising feature of the Trio setting, and one that can be seen to contribute to the dominance of the Trio language, is that although the Trio live in a multilingual environment, multilingualism is virtually absent. Nor have any of the other Amerindian languages spoken in the Trio villages had any impact on Trio. So one wonders, have any of the contacting languages had any influence on the language at all? The article finishes by looking at the extent and result of contact within the wider context of Suriname and the role of Sranantongo and Dutch.

PRESENT-DAY ETHNODEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY

According to the Trio themselves as well as missionary sources, the group numbers approximately 1,500 and is found in the deep south of Suriname on either side of the Brazil-Suriname border. In both countries they make up less than 1 percent of the total population, and thus constitute a non-unique minority with minority status in both countries.² While I shall make reference to those living in Brazil where relevant, this paper is designed to describe the sociolinguistic situation of the Trio of Suriname.

Fifteen-hundred constitutes a small group considering that the total population of Suriname numbers about 430,000 inhabitants, two thirds of whom reside in Paramaribo and its environs. Just over 2 percent of this number accounts for the indigenous population which numbers almost 10,000 Amerindians who belong to two major linguistic families, the Cariban and the Arawakan. The Fifth General Population and Housing Census of 1980, which was published in 1996, gives the number of Arawaks as 1,787 and the number of Caribs as 2,200. The Caribs proper, i.e. the Kariña, and the Arawaks live in the coastal region of Suriname. The socio-cultural and linguistic situation of the coastal groups differs radically from that of the groups in the interior in that an on-going process of assimilation into the larger Suriname society is resulting in the decline and demise of both their cultures and their languages. By contrast, the relative isolation of the location of the Trio enables them to live as a more or less autonomous group, a state within a state, for the most part uninvolved in central government.³

The Trio are in general self-sufficient. The Trio diet consists of meat and

fish which is consumed in great quantities and supplemented by root crops. The division of labor is along gender lines with mainly the women being responsible for the crops. The staple food is cassava, other foods being bananas, pineapples, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, eddoes, yams, and maize. Calabashes, gourds, cotton, and tobacco are also grown. In the largest village, Kwamalasamutu, there is now also small-scale rice- and peanut-planting, with the latter also being practiced in Palumeu now. Fields are cut and cleared by men, both sexes take part in the planting, and thereafter the fields are taken care of by the women. Hunting and fishing are mainly carried out by men who never travel alone but only enter the forest with either their hunting dog, or sometimes just a man with his wife or sister, or they travel in small groups of two or three men. When the men return from a hunting expedition with a good catch, the next few days are spent eating it until it is finished. Small-scale fishing is practiced by women.

Thus the immediate environment, that is, the forest and their plots of land, provide the Trio with food and housing.⁴ What is not readily available is modern equipment such as saws to cut down trees; outboard motors for their boats, and radios. Nowadays the Trio need this equipment, as well as clothes and other non-native items, and to be able to trade for or buy these some contact with the rest of the country is necessary. In what follows we look at the immediate Trio environment and their contact possibilities both within their own settlements and outside of these.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND POPULATION CONSTITUTION

The Trio inhabit four main settlements in the southern part of the tropical rain forest of Suriname, the home of at most 1,500 speakers, and three settlements in the western Tumuc-Humac region of the Pará region of Brazil with a population of approximately 700 speakers. There is steady contact between the Trio living in Suriname and those in Brazil.⁵ The population concentrations in the Trio villages, as given on the map below, are the following: approximately 50 Trio live in Sipaliwini on the Sipaliwini River; approximately 50 people live in Palumeu on the Tapanahoni River; between 200 and 300 live in Tëpu on the Upper Tapanahoni River. By far the largest concentration is found in the village Kwamalasamutu on the Sipaliwini River with between 800-1000 inhabitants. The village Alalaparu, which is often mentioned in the modern ethnographic literature, no longer exists but has been reclaimed by the forest. Its former inhabitants now live in Kwamalasamutu and in Tëpu.

The present settlement pattern is no longer the traditional one since formerly the Trio lived in villages of between fifteen and fifty inhabitants. Frikel's statistics average out at approximately thirty inhabitants per village (Frikel 1957:514), and in 1941, twenty-five Trio villages were counted in Suriname (Schmidt 1942). This is in sharp contrast with the situation today of four larger settlements and two outliers. The larger focused settlements were set up by missionaries in the early 1960s. In the areas of health and education there are obvious advantages in greater population concentrations insofar as it is easier to administer and monitor health care and set up and man educational facilities. All the villages in which the Trio live are isolated, that is, they are in the forest region of Suriname, there are no roads to the villages, they can only be reached by boat and walking or by plane. Each of the villages has an airstrip. Sometimes there are up to four planes arriving a week but sometimes, depending on the weather or necessity of flights, there may not be a single flight for two or three weeks. Besides the four main villages mentioned above, there are also a few families from Kwamalasamutu now living in Amatopo and Coeroenie (Kuruni) close to the border with Guyana, these number about ten people in each location. The Trio there work at the airstrips.⁶

Despite the relative isolation in which the Trio live, communication between the villages is excellent. Apart from radio contact every evening and morning between all the villages, the Trio travel a lot between the villages, so that there is always someone bringing news.

In addition, the Trio often live longer periods of their lives in different villages so that most families and relationships are known to most people. By way of contrast, most non-Amerindians who come to the villages do not stay for longer periods so that there is little continuity from the outside. Distances between the villages vary from half a day to up to a week, most journeys requiring both walking and canoeing. Such long-distance boat trips are now made with outboard motors but the frequency of trips is also partly determined by the availability of gasoline which is flown in from the capital.

The present-day population of the Trio villages comprises at least ten groups of people of ethnic descent other than Trio and is the result of migration and convergence.⁷ Early historical accounts as given in Whitehead (1988) relate that the Carib groups of the Guianas in general lived in large settlements of between a few hundred and a few thousand inhabitants. Trio oral traditions likewise tell us that the ancestors of the Trio lived in one large settlement in Samuwaka in Brazil. It was from this settlement that they later scattered in all directions because of a depletion

of game resources in the area (cf. Koelewijn 1984:252 and 1987:262). Ethnographers and travelers from the late eighteenth century onwards found the Trio in small autonomous scattered settlements over the southern part of Suriname, interspersed with or adjacent to other non-Trio groups. It is these groups that have now for the most part merged resulting in at least one large polyethnic settlement in Kwamalasamutu (cf. Table 2). Of these we know that the Waiwai and the Waiwai subgroups, as well as the Sikiyana came from the west. The Akuriyo were a small nomadic group and the Wayana were further to the north of the Trio and had been at war with the Trio. The convergence process has resulted in language shift which in turn, for some of the languages involved, has brought in its wake the death of the original languages and at the same time an expansion of Trio.

However, not all the non-ethnic Trio have fused with the Trio, that is, the status of Wayana is somewhat different from, for example, that of most of the other groups given below in that it exists elsewhere in Suriname as an independent language and the number of Wayana in the Trio villages is small and is the result of inmarriage. The case of the Akuriyo who have assimilated linguistically but who socially are not seen as being on a par with their Trio patrons is discussed in the section "Power and language" below. Starting from the village of Palumeu, I give in the following the population breakdown and concentrations in each of the villages. The population of Palumeu is more or less equally balanced between Trio and Wayana and together they number approximately one hundred. Palumeu is exceptional in that its population does not represent a homogeneous speech community, rather each of these groups speaks their own language without there being any stable bilingualism. The population of Tëpu consists mostly of Trio with a few inmarried Wayana and the greater part of the approximately fifty-strong Akuriyo group. Sipaliwini consists mostly of Trio. The population constitution for these three villages is summarized in Table 1, followed by the ethnodemographic information for Kwamalasamutu.

Table 1. Population Constitution and Numbers⁸

	Trio	Wayana	Akuriyo
Palumeu	50	50	1
Tëpu	200	10	30
Sipaliwini	80	3	?

The most dense polyethnic concentration, consisting of about ten originally different groups, is found in Kwamalasamutu. On the macro level, no distinction is made between the Trio and the non-original Trio, neither by the Trio themselves nor in this paper, and all the village inhabitants, with the possible exception of a very few old Akuriyo women, speak Trio as their primary language. The status of the Wayana differs from that of the other groups in that they do not form a unit within the villages, rather they constitute isolated instances of inmarried elements. The other Cariban groups, who over the last century have fused with the Trio, are now, at least as regards their linguistic behavior, acculturated Trio forming a relatively homogeneous speech community. However, on the micro level a distinction is made and is of relevance for our understanding of both the history and the culture of the Trio and the non-Trio groups. An overview of the population of Kwamalasamutu based on ethnic descent is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Population Constitution in Kwamalasamutu Based on Ethnic Descent

Group Name	Name Variations	No. in Suriname	Other Location if applicable	Linguistic Classification
Trio	Tarëno, Tiriyó	450	Brazil	Cariban
Akuriyo	(Wama) Akoerio	50	(Brazil)	Cariban
Aramayana	Aramagoto	?	—	Cariban
Okomoyana	Komayana	150	—	Cariban
Sakëta	—	100	—	Cariban
Sikiyana	Chikena, Tshikiana	50	—	Cariban
Waiwai	Wayway	1	Guyana, Brazil	Cariban
Sirewu	Shereó	10	Brazil?	Cariban
Tunayana ⁹	Tonayena	80	—	Cariban
Mawayana	—	60	Brazil	Carib./Arawakan

The recurrent ending *-yana* in the above table indicates groups of humans or “people” and can be found all over the Guiana region. Other such morphemes are *-koto* and *-sana* and variations thereof. According to De Goeje (1924:214), names ending in *-koto/-goto* are only found in Cariban groups, whereas *-jana/-yana/-ana* and *-enne* are found in Cariban, Arawakan, and Tupi names. In Trio *-jan*, as well as *-san*, is a collective plural marker only used to mark human entities.

Names for ethnic groups in the southern part of Suriname are assigned according to three main strategies, that is, names are either descriptive or they are taken from the domains of nature (animals, birds, bees) or material culture (arrows). Most of the names we meet in the relevant literature are taken from the domain of nature.¹⁰ Some examples are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Naming Strategies

Group	Meaning
Arimihoto	Spider monkey
Maipurisana	Tapir
Pijanakoto	Eagle
Aramayana	Sweat bee
Pirëujana	Arrow
Inkarijana	those behind (the mountain)

The autonym for the Trio is *tarëno*. According to Rivière (1969:11) *tarëno* is the autonym for the westerly group, and *tirïyo* the autonym for the easterly group with the latter term also being used by the Wayana for the Trio. The name Tarëno, however, is not found in the literature until Rivière (1969), yet this is the name that is found in the Trios' own oral history. The rest of the population in Suriname, as far as they are aware of their existence as a group, as well as the academic world, refers to the group by the name Trio; in Brazil, the term Tiriyo is used. The Trio refer to their language as *tarëno i-jomi* "Trio his/their-language." Structurally both *tarëno* and *tirïyo* would seem to be descriptive terms but as yet I have been unable to discover their meaning.¹¹

The term *Tarëno* can be used as a singular and as a plural (the Trio) and can be pluralized by the suffix *-ton* as in *tarëno-ton*, resulting in an individualizing plural form, which denotes all the Trio subgroups as well. According to my informants, in order to distinguish between the "original" or non-mixed Trio, that is, those not mixed by intermarriage with, for example the Aramayana, Okomoyana etc., the term *piropi* (pl. *piropi-ton*) is used. *Piropi* is a body part term meaning "chest" and its usage as an ethnonym is to designate those living in the middle (of the forest). In this context *piropi* could be translated by Inner Trio, those of the central kernel of the Trio, the "pure, unmixed" Trio. Informants say that this term is also used by the Brazilian Trio to refer to the Trio of Suriname.¹² The tribes to the west of the Trio, namely the Waiwai, refer to the Trio as *yawi* who in turn refer to the Waiwai by a descriptive term *inkarijana* from *inka* "back (anat.)" which means those living behind the mountain.

LANGUAGE SHIFT TO TRIO

With the exception of Mawayana, which may be a mixed language, all of the names given in Table 2 are of groups belonging to the larger Cariban language family.¹³ The internal classification of the Cariban family is not

altogether clear, mainly due to the lack of detailed linguistic descriptions of the relevant languages. Furthermore, there is considerable disagreement as to how many languages even make up the Cariban family with numbers ranging between thirty-nine and sixty. Since the various internal classifications of this family are dealt with critically in Gildea (1992), only a summary is given in the following. A classification by Girard¹⁴ posits fifteen subgroups and assigns Trio to group 7, named the Tiriyo group, which contains ten other languages, among them Pianakoto which Friel (1964) claims to be identical to Trio.¹⁵ Table 4 gives the different classifications of the Trio group. Durbin's (1977) classification of the Cariban languages is the one that is referred to most often in Cariban studies although it too clearly exhibits discrepancies that arise from the lack of sound language descriptions. Durbin posits two branches, namely Northern and Southern Cariban. He sets up a Trio group, comprising ten languages, in the subgroup East-West Guiana of the Northern Cariban branch. Kaufman posits a Trio group subdivided into three separate subgroups, Tiriyo, Karihona, and Salumá, with the entire group consisting of five languages. Table 4 shows the lack of consensus with regard to which languages are to be included in the group. It should be noted that these classifications are mainly based on older wordlists of some of the languages whereas there were no data at all available on others.

Table 4. The Trio Group Classifications

Girard's group 7 Tiriyo	Durbin's Northern Cariban East-West Guiana	Kaufman's D(-E-F) Guiana Branch Tiriyo group D1: Tiriyo subgroup
Tiriyo	Trio-Rangu	Tiriyo
Wama	Wama (Akurio)	Akuriyo
Hianákoto-Umawa		D2: Karihona subgroup
Carijona		Hianákoto
		Karihona
		D3: Salumá
Saluma	Saluma	Salumá
Urukuna	Urukuyana	
Tiriometesem	Tiriometesen	
Pauxi	Pauxi	
Pianakoto	Pianakoto	
Guake		
	Kumayena	
	Cachuena	
	Chikena	

According to the numbers given in Tables 1 and 2, the populations of all the Trio villages are of mixed ethnic descent and approximately half the population in Kwamalasamutu does not belong to the core Trio group. However, the dominant language in all the villages except Palumeu is Trio. Indeed one of most surprising features of this polyethnic population make-up in these villages in the south of Suriname is the utter lack of multilingualism. One can assume that the older migrating groups were at least bilingual and that the break in transmission of their native languages began with their advent in the Trio villages and was practically completed within three generations. With the exception of Aramayana and Okomoyana who have no speakers left, it is now only speakers of fifty years and older who communicate with each other in their original languages. In the home, even where there are grandparents and parents speaking their original languages, the children, although they can understand these languages, only speak Trio.

The process of population shift leading to the present structure results from small groups or perhaps family units moving into a probably only slightly larger settlement and forming a minority group there and eventually becoming absorbed by the dominant group. It can be observed in the Guiana region that this process may result in layers of both population and language shift, as neighboring groups assimilate first to one larger neighbor and then to another; this would seem to have been the case with the Mawayana who were originally Arawakan, who shifted to Waiwai and then again to Trio. Some of the groups listed in Table 2 have completed the process of absorption and the original name only refers to their ancestry but no longer to any cultural or linguistic differences. These are in particular the Aramayana and the Okomoyana. As a result there is a higher degree of linguistic homogeneity than might be expected in such a conglomeration of ethnic diversity.

Language shift is associated with language loss, when an ethnic group gives up its own language and replaces it with another. While language loss is attested in the Trio villages, some languages do exist outside of the Trio settlements, thus not all population and language shift situations have the same devastating results of language death induced by shift, at least not within a few generations as has been the case in the Trio villages.

The Akuriyo began shifting to Trio in the 1970s when they were brought in by missionaries to live in Tëpu. There are reports of between four and ten Akuriyo living in Brazil, none of whom speak Akuriyo. The Akuriyo language is now moribund with at most fifteen old speakers. Wayana who are inmarried with Trio and resident in the four villages also shift to Trio.¹⁶

The Aramayana and Okomoyana have been fully assimilated to the Trio and have been speaking Trio for many generations.¹⁷ According to informants there are only a few "unmixed" Aramayana since they have been intermarrying with the Trio for generations. It is likely that the Sakëta group, who locate their origin in Brazil, were always Trio-speaking. The only other reference to this group in the literature is in Findlay (1971:5) who states that Sakete (Sakëta) is a proper name, that of the leader of the group. Due to political tension in Kwamalasamutu, the entire Sakëta group, constituting roughly sixteen families, is at the time of writing, packing up to move permanently to Brazil. The Sikiyana appear to have migrated from the west and it is unlikely that they exist elsewhere now.¹⁸ Since nothing is known about the languages these groups spoke, it is not possible to tell if they were simply dialects or languages closely related to Trio. Oral traditions, as well as informants older than seventy, say that the languages were distinguishable but that the people were "just like the Trio."

The other groups, namely the Mawayana, Sirewu, and Tunayana have become acculturated Trio and have shifted to Trio.¹⁹ While there are some Mawayana in Brazil, the Tunayana do not seem to be represented elsewhere, thus their shift to Trio can be correlated with loss.²⁰

While we will never know now what the languages of most of the groups given in Table 5 looked like, the fragmentary evidence, such as the few wordlists in Farabee (1924), indicates a group of related dialects or languages with differing degrees of distance. Present-day information, however, allows us to conclude that Akuriyo, in spite of a relatively high degree of lexical similarity is mutually unintelligible with Trio and may be considered a separate language.

Traditionally, at least since the time of contact, all the above-mentioned groups lived contiguous to one another and are found in the literature as separate groups who knew each other but who were not necessarily living in the same villages. Population movements resulted in new bonds of friendship based on a system of reciprocity, and an increased feeling of affiliation with the new group. This system is still in practice today and the relationship between the parties is expressed by the word *pawana* "(trading) partner, friend"; thus one enters into a relationship of mutual help by one person stating *ji-pawana ëmë* "you are my friend." The importance of friendship bonds based on reciprocity as well as the residence area over and above that of ethnic affiliation can be seen here as a determinant of both linguistic and social behavior (cf. Rivière 1969).

ETHNOHISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The ethnohistorical data we have are scant. The problematic and perhaps one could say time-unstable nature of group names in South America in general and Amazonia in particular is well known and makes interpretation of the historical sources difficult. It is assumed that the present-day Trio consist of a conglomeration of several culturally and linguistically diverse groups (cf. Frikel 1957; Rivière 1969). This assumption would appear at first sight to be consonant with oral traditions according to which the first people were the Pîrëuyana "arrow people" who mixed with other groups, yet at the same time it raises the question of how we are to interpret the historical data that are available, and it also raises questions as to how the so-called different groups fused to become what Frikel terms the "Trio group."²¹ Nowadays there is linguistic homogeneity to a large degree in that all those in the Trio villages speak Trio, yet different fusion processes lead to different degrees of intergroup mix. The individual history of the groups bears on the sense of ethnic identities prevalent among the speech community today.

Little is known about the history of the Trio or their migratory patterns prior to the first reported contact in 1843. The Brazilian missionary, Protásio Frikel, makes extensive claims in his reconstruction of the first inhabitants of the Guiana region basing these on both scant archaeological evidence and findings from the material culture. Frikel's claims lack not only a systematic scientific methodology but also linguistic evidence to underpin them and it is thus not entirely clear how he eventually arrives at his conclusions (Frikel 1957, 1961).²²

Based on his study of Amerindian groups in the northern Pará region of Brazil and surroundings areas, Frikel claims that the name Trio is a generic term used to denote a conglomeration of Amerindians consisting of at least twelve sub-groups. These he divides up into six peaceful groups and six "wild" groups. The "wild" groups are those whom Frikel defines as having a "marginal stone-age culture" and who are described by the Trio and other peaceful groups as being *ëire* "dangerous."²³

The names given in Table 5 are all of groups that we encounter in the relevant literature over a period of two centuries. These groups were for the most part living in separate settlements and they had varying degrees of interethnic communication and interaction, be it peaceful or hostile. Linguistic evidence from early descriptions of the area, such as Schomburgk's, seems to point at a dialect continuum, that enabled these groups to interact. Farabee's later accounts tell of dances and festivals to which neighboring groups were invited, thus we can assume that there was some

Table 5. The "Trio Group" after Frikel (1957)

Friendly subgroups	Wild subgroups
Aramayana (Aramagoto)	Akuriyo ²⁴
Aramicho (Aramiso)	Kukuyana
Arimihoto (Arimiyana)	Pianoi
Maracho (Pianokoto)	Tiriyometesen ²⁵
Okomoyana (Maipuridjana)	Wama
Prouyana ²⁶ (Rangu)	Wayarikure (Oyarikulets)

degree of mutual intelligibility. We also know that there was intermarriage between related groups and that a formal language register – in Trio known as *nokato* – was required in order to ask for a wife. It would thus seem to have been an arbitrary choice to take Trio as the group name and one wonders why Frikel did this. One possible explanation is that the Trio were the most numerous of the dialect group. A second possible explanation is that the Trio were more accessible to Frikel and in contrast to other groups perhaps more forthcoming with information. The information on extant and obsolescent groups that the Trio gave Frikel, and in more recent times myself, is always in relation to themselves, that is, they say other groups are or were "just like the Trio but speaking a different language" or "different from the Trio." But just how much integration or assimilation has occurred among these groups who are living with the Trio? My experience is that when one asks an Amerindian from Kwamalasamutu what ethnic group he belongs to, he will first say Trio. Only much later and after persistent questioning will he say that he actually belongs to another group originally. One reason for this may be that an outsider will know or have heard of the Trio whereas no-one until now has assumed that there are, for example, Tunayana living in Suriname. In the village itself one's descent is known and can often be guessed at by the location of one's house, that is, in all the villages, there are signs of ethnic cluster formation.

These ethnic clusters are also indicative of social stratification, and afford us some insight into the social and authoritative structures that have evolved in the settlements. When the missionaries began their work in the interior, they encouraged larger population concentrations at one or two bases, and the Trio flocked to these mainly to benefit from Western medicine. Thus all these groups who had previously lived at a safe distance from one another, each with their own leader/s, were thrown into an allochthonous construct of mass (!) populations. It would be surprising indeed if no conflicts in the domains of political and social authority were to arise under such circumstances. And they have. I do not intend to deal

with the actual power struggles here, rather I give some options of how the Trio minimize or at least oversee the conflict situation.

Since the focused settlements disrupted the one-village one-leader structure and now there may be between two and four village leaders, the conflicts that arise can generally only be solved by forming units within the village, or by one or other group moving away and setting up another village. Both options can be observed today. In a physical sense most groups live in clusters in the villages so that while one cannot talk of absolute clear-cut territorial boundaries, there are indications now of a return to segregation with for example a Waiwai cluster, a Katuena (Tunayana) cluster, an Akuriyo cluster, etc.

The other option is in progress, that is, apart from the Sakëta group moving to Brazil as stated above, a new village unit is being formed adjacent to Palumeu and a further village has just been established near Mount Kasikasima. This latter village was set up mainly at the instigation of an evangelist who had intended it as a bible camp and a meeting place for the Trio of Suriname and the Trio of Brazil to talk about matters religious. Due to the political unrest and dissatisfaction with the leadership that has been reigning in Tëpu for the last few years, many people saw the bible camp at Kasikasima as a welcome way-out, and decided to establish a new village there.²⁷ The evangelist cleared an airstrip there with the help of the Trio from Tëpu, who are now busy building houses and clearing fields. The decision to stay there, however, has further exacerbated the internal conflicts in Tëpu with the general feeling that this action is splitting the village. Apart from political consequences and an obvious felt need to restore old structures, there are also practical difficulties involved in setting up a new village. These are the now basic facilities such as medical care and schooling. The new village, in December 1996 still referred to as *kampu* "camp," has an airstrip so that in case of emergency, the Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF) can fly in, and it has one radio for contact with the outside. There is, however, no well-trained medical assistant and there is no clinic, nor are there medical supplies. Nor is there a school for the children and even if and when the inhabitants build one the chances of managing to persuade a teacher from the capital to go to a village that is even more remote than the other more established villages and that totally lacks any kind of infrastructure qua authoritative power are extremely low.

That all these arguments against setting up a new village outweigh the dissatisfaction of the current situation at least in Tëpu, and if one takes into account that the Trio avoid conflict at all costs, usually by removing themselves physically from the confrontation site, is a clear indication both

that the larger villages that were set up for evangelizing purposes are in the long run not very successful and that steps are being taken to find a solution to the problem.²⁸

POWER AND LANGUAGE

The structure of authority in the villages is that imposed by the Suriname government, an authority that is referred to in Trio by the Sranantongo term *lanti* "government." The highest position is held by the *granman*²⁹ who is assisted by two or three captains who in turn are assisted by three subcaptains, known as *bashas*. Trio does not have an autochthonous term for any of these positions.³⁰ In addition, an overseer of the leadership "Bestuursopzichter" (BOZ) has been installed by the government in Kwamalasamutu, the present one being a Carib from the coast. In his 1981 report on the Trio, Rivière points out the difficulties involved in having state-appointed leaders. The present granman in Kwamalasamutu was, however, elected by the villagers and although a policy of favoritism is prevalent, he, along with the captains and assistants, does seem to have gained the respect of the majority of the population (Rivière 1981:23-26).

The present *granman* is also a prominent member of the church community; he preaches the sermon every Sunday, and he, and most of the captains, attend church every day for Bible readings. Thus there is much overlap in the church and village leadership, a trend that was recognized by Rivière (1981). It is questionable how much of or in what way the Christian message has been understood by the Trio, and the church is a meeting place also for secular affairs with the balance tipping towards the secular.³¹ There seem to be few conflicts arising from church matters while, in general, village and personal conflicts do arise. Moreover, it does not seem to be the case that exemplary behavior is expected from the leadership since there is no discernible difference in social or moral behavior between the village and church leadership on the one hand and the rest of the villagers on the other.

The leadership is responsible for the status quo in village life. It acts as a mediator in conflicts and metes out punishment to wrongdoers.³² Any outsider wishing to enter the Trio villages requires approval from the leadership. Thus visitors are obliged to present themselves to the village leadership, stating their intentions, the planned length of their stay, and asking permission to stay there. In Tëpu, however, where I started my fieldwork, the leadership consisted of three captains, one of whom was absent, and three bashas. Thus in a meeting that was scheduled for the day

after my arrival, I had to address "the leadership." About three quarters of an hour into the meeting, when I thought I had given a detailed outline of my intended linguistic work, from the phonetics through to complex verb forms, one of the captains spoke. The interpreter translated saying "this captain says that's all right, now *this* captain wants to know what you want to do here." I heaved a sigh of relief that the third captain was temporarily in another village, and started all over again. The meeting lasted two hours. If one considers that the traditional village had one leader who was addressed directly, by Trio visitors in a register of Trio known as *nokato*, then the above occurrence is not surprising; thus I too was seen to be addressing one captain at a time. Before the larger settlements were set up, a typical village had one leader who was referred to by the term *pata entu* or *pata i-tamu*, "place (village) owner" and "place (village) its-leader."³³ *Tamo* is the term of address to an old man, and signals respect, not only for his years but moreso for the wisdom he has acquired. It is also the case that villages were often named after their leader, for example, *Simëtu i-pata* "Simëtu's village."³⁴

The leadership may accept or reject strangers, and acceptance of a stranger into their midst entails carrying responsibility for the visitors' or strangers' well-being. Such is the case with the settling of Akuriyo in the village of Tëpu. The Akuriyo were (literally) taken from the forest and planted among the Trio in Tëpu by missionaries in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In doing so the Trio in general and the leadership in particular were made patrons of the Akuriyo.

The Akuriyo are one of the "wild" Trio subgroups of Frikel's description.³⁵ They were the last of the Amerindian groups in Suriname to leave their nomadic way of life in the forest and they are now settled among the Trio – there are at present about thirty-three in Tëpu, about ten in Kwamalasamutu and one or two in Palumeu. From the outset they were brought in as poor "lost souls" to live among and learn (mainly about God) from the Trio. The price, however, was high since they were not accepted as being socially on a par with the Trio. Apart from the high number of deaths that occurred shortly after arriving in Tëpu there came a break in transmission of the Akuriyo language as the children learnt the language of their peers, Trio. The result is that all the Akuriyo are Trio-speaking and that their former language is now moribund. While they acculturated linguistically, their social status vis-à-vis their Trio patrons remained low. The Akuriyo are greatly respected for their knowledge of the forest but their present position in the villages is that of total subjugation, they are de facto servants of the captains in particular and of the Trio population in general. Furthermore, while intermarriage with the

other groups does exist, it is perceived as undesirable to intermarry with the Akuriyo. In contrast to the attitude of the Trio towards white people and researchers, which could be termed hesitant, the Akuriyo are actively interested. On hearing that I was interested in their language, I promptly had a thirty-year-old Akuriyo at my house, armed with his notebook and his father, who spoke the language, asking me to make recordings. I gladly obliged but the incident was reported to one of the captains who summoned me to his house and pointed out that I was not to work with the Akuriyos without his express permission or without an appointment being arranged through him.

This attitude of superiority can also be detected in other spheres of life, namely in the Trios' attitude towards their own language. The intra-ethnic (Tarëno and Tarëno-ton) attitude towards Trio is a positive one. Trio enjoys high status and is dominant. Given a wider setting, however, a somewhat ambiguous stance becomes evident in that the Trio do not consider their own language to be a worthy subject or medium of instruction in school. Thus there are for them languages with higher prestige, namely European languages.³⁶ Trio is the language spoken in all domains that are relevant in this society such as home, school, church, and administration. The music of the hymns sung in church is of European origin while the words sung are Trio. The language of the classroom is officially Dutch, and that of the "playground" among peers is Trio. Among themselves, the guardians of the Trio language are the older men and storytellers. I heard from these on more than one occasion that most of the younger men no longer speak "good" Trio but that they speak differently from the older men. Furthermore, those who lived for a longer period in town as well as children of mixed marriages, even though they are Trio speaking, are not considered "good" speakers of Trio. Thus ancestry and ethnic group identity are clearly reflected in a subjective "purity" of the language. Although the Trio have a wealth of oral literature, storytelling does not seem to figure prominently in their society. It is not clear if it ever did play an important role nor did the sessions I had with the most renowned storyteller, Tëmenta, attract any listeners.

Language is a powerful weapon in any society and the awareness of this fact is prevalent among all Trio. It is by means of language that a person can show his inner strength, his leadership qualities, and it is also, though not only, by means of language that a person can be cursed, even over a distance. And it is by its inverse, that is, silence that one can equally make a point, namely by walking away from a conflict.³⁷ When a stranger comes to a village he is judged by his language, not only by what he says

but also by the way he says it. As mentioned above, strangers to a village traditionally introduced themselves by means of the ceremonial dialogue, *nokato*, which was also used in order to ask for a wife and to trade. This verbal display was used as an indicator of the character of its producer. Strength in this verbal art was highly regarded and both showed respect for the village authority and generated respect for the visitor. The *nokato* is a formal discourse register that had to be learned. This type of register was referred to as ceremonial dialogue by Fock (1963) in his description of the Waiwai and taken over by Rivière (1969, 1971) for the Trio. It is deviant from normal spoken Trio both lexically and morphosyntactically. Rivière differentiates two types of ceremonial dialogue, namely *tesēmiken*³⁸ and *turakane* which can be distinguished according to their function and the role of the participating parties, with only the latter being competitive in nature. *Tesēmiken* was the least formal type of ceremonial dialogue and could involve two or more participants, male or female who were related or acquainted. It was mainly used to tell people of one's immediate plans or to relate something out of the ordinary that one had done, or it was used between people who had not been in contact with each other for a while. It was characterized by the fast speed at which it took place and it required the listener to reply at intervals with *irërë* "so it is." On the other hand, *turakane*, which is derived from the verb *ëturaka* "to converse, talk business, do barter," was competitive and a test of one's verbal skills. *Turakane* is subdivided into the very formal *nokato* and the somewhat less formal *sipësipëman*.³⁹ It was used by a stranger arriving in a village, to assure the leader of his good intentions, to conduct trade, and also to ask for a wife.

The strongest and most formal of this type is *nokato* which is used only by men, mostly older men, who sit on stools facing slightly away from each other. A *nokato* session could last from 5 p.m. one evening till even later the following evening. Rivière (1971:299) states that a man and woman can use this form but not women among themselves. *Nokato* is characterized by the two participating men taking turns to speak approximately every ten minutes. This form is almost sung rather than spoken. The sentences are short and end in *kara* or *taame*. The listener responds with a low murmuring grunt. The language used in the *turakane* is archaic and stylized. The response is sometimes a grunt and sometimes *irërë* "so it is" or *aerë* "really." In the *sipësipëman*, it may also be a confirmation of what has been said, for example *ëmërëken* "only you" in reply to *wirëken* "only me." Unfortunately not a single form of the ceremonial dialogue is in use any longer. It has already become obsolete. The significance of the loss incurred – since it is not just these registers that no longer exist – is

indicated by the lament of one elderly speaker according to whom there are no *tamu* "elders" left any more, only *muretiton* "children," not in the physical sense but in the sense of wisdom, knowledge and character.⁴⁰

On an equal footing with the words one uses is pitch, tone, and loudness. Loud speakers are treated with both disdain and fear. If a person is a loud speaker that is the first attribute that is mentioned when the Trio describe him/her and it is not a positive one. The Trio have an aversion to and seem to be totally intimidated by loud voices. Considering the fact that the Trio themselves and most of the other groups living in their villages, with the possible exception of the Wayana, are extremely soft-spoken people, who can communicate over large distances with a barely audible whisper, it is not surprising that most Creoles and whites are classed as loud speakers. Furthermore, the Trio language lends itself to whispering because there is no voice opposition, that is, speakers can whisper without neutralizing a possible distinction between voiced and voiceless obstruents.⁴¹ However, it is not only loudness that should be avoided but also overuse of grammatical imperative forms since these signal impatience and an assumed superior attitude on the part of the speaker.

Power play is also evident in the dialect distinctions that are made. Two dialects can be distinguished in Trio, namely, what can be called the western dialect spoken in Palumeu and Tëpu and the eastern dialect spoken in Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini.⁴² The distinctive features which mark the differences in the dialects are mainly phonological in nature so that the western dialect has /k/ and /p/ where the eastern one has /h/ and /β/ respectively. There are also grammatical and a limited number of lexical differences.

While the differences between the dialects are not major, the fact that there is a difference at all is of paramount importance for many speakers. The result for someone like myself learning Trio is that one has to adapt one's speech according to the village one is in since it is very easy to offend the Trios' sensibilities on this matter. One example of stepping on toes is a recent evangelical publication which was translated by a Trio from the western dialect. Those of the eastern dialect refuse to use the booklet saying that it is not their language.

CONTACT AND CONTACTING LANGUAGES

The relations obtaining between the ethnic group Trio and the state are characterized by a mutual lack of understanding. Suriname does boast at least two organizations which were set up to represent the rights of the

indigenous peoples of the country. These are run mainly by coastal Caribs, and although they include the groups of the interior in their fight for their rights, there are no Trio representatives on the board of decision makers, and there is good reason to doubt that the coastal Caribs or Arawaks, whose socio-cultural background differs vastly from that of the groups of the interior, understand or can even realistically represent these people. Thus we see that the Trio can be regarded as a more or less autonomous socio-political entity whose contacts with the state and groups from the coastal region are primarily initiated by the latter. On the macro level we look in the following at the status of the Trio language and the domains in which it is used as well as general attitudes towards the contacting languages Sranantongo and Dutch.

There is little continuity in contact with the outside world. Only few Trio live in Paramaribo, one major obstacle being the costs they incur there, in particular food and housing costs. A visit to the capital usually entails returning to the village *tīwirijehpētae*, with one's "vertebrae visible," that is, thin as a rake. This is, however, not to say that many young people would not like to go to Paramaribo. There are both linguistic and cultural reasons that hinder them, namely, their lack of knowledge of Dutch which is necessary in dealing with the authorities, and their imperfect knowledge of Sranantongo, the lingua franca, which hinders their social mobility.

The only townspeople living in the Trio villages are the school teachers in Kwamalasamutu and Tēpu, the two villages with more or less functioning schools.⁴³ The teachers are almost all Creoles formerly in church and now in government employment; they have inadequate or no knowledge of Trio. In 1995 the American Peace Corps set up a base in Tēpu. One trained nurse from Paramaribo is resident in Kwamalasamutu and is assisted by four Trio, in the other villages, the medical staff consists only of Trio nurses some of whom have been trained in town. Directly beside the village of Palumeu there is a tourist resort run by the METS, an eco-tourism company. They have at least three permanent staff there from town and a relatively steady influx of tourists. Between thirty and fifty villagers are in paid employment with the METS, but it is generally only the barmen and the boatmen who have any contact with the tourists. On average there may be a group of about ten tourists a month who on one day of their five-day trip are guided through the village itself. These are for the most part completely ignored by the villagers who continue with their daily tasks, apparently not even directly looking up to inspect the tourists.⁴⁴

Since the Suriname government upholds an exoglossic language policy with Dutch as the official language of the country, all official administration, as well as the educational system, is in Dutch. Trio, and also the

other languages of Suriname, have no institutional status whatsoever, they are not taught in schools neither as a medium of instruction nor as a subject. Hence the social function of the Trio language does not extend beyond the bounds of the Trio settlements and Trio society may be seen to constitute an autonomous entity vis-à-vis the "national" construct Suriname. External contact with the main body of the Suriname population, government officials and traders, is carried out mainly in Sranantongo. Beyond these domains, Sranantongo is of limited use in the eyes of the Trio. Teaching through the medium of Sranantongo in school is not a desirable option, nor does Sranantongo carry any of the prestige that Dutch does. As a consequence of this language attitude the Trio are not fluent in Sranantongo, (nor in Dutch); official dealings with the national authorities are conducted with the help of interpreters.⁴⁵ Although some of the village captains understand Sranantongo and may even speak it, it appears to enhance their position of authority vis-à-vis the government if they use an interpreter, that is, respect is strived at by means of language. The interpreters are, as a rule, assistants chosen by the captains, and are those young men who have either spent short periods in Paramaribo or who were in the past in close contact with non-Trio in the villages.

Many Trio and in particular the leadership in Tëpu and Kwamalasamutu, fought to have Dutch as the medium of instruction in schools, and this is indicative of the prevailing positive attitude towards Dutch.⁴⁶ It is generally seen as desirable to have a good knowledge of Dutch, and being the only European language (i.e. language of the white people) in that area, it is regarded as being the one language that can potentially open the door to economic enhancement and upward social mobility. The schoolchildren, however, keep their use of Dutch to a minimum and if an answer is forthcoming at all, they often answer the teacher in Trio. As a consequence, education is more geared towards learning Dutch than acquiring general knowledge. Furthermore, a lack of understanding of the general culture of the indigenous society thwarts any attempt be successful in teaching or to prepare the Trio for immersion into the larger society.

With the advent in the last years of Americans, mostly missionaries, and English-speaking Canadians, mostly forestry and mining company officials, and influenced by the fact that some Trio individuals have been taken to the United States by at least one of the missionaries in order to work on a bible translation, English is now vying with Dutch to be the most desirable language to learn. What I have given above is simply the "attitude" of the Trio towards Dutch (and English). In practice few steps are taken to realize the ideal situation of being competent in a European language.

Thus formal education takes place in Dutch. Since children starting

school generally have no knowledge of Dutch beforehand, the process of learning to read, write, and count takes place in a language that is not only totally foreign to them but also a language that they have no recourse to outside the four hours of school a day. This is in sharp contrast with the situation that prevailed two decades ago when Dutch missionaries started an alphabetization program in Trio, and taught both Trio and Dutch. The present generation of thirty to forty-five-year olds bears witness to that teaching and although they now, due to lack of practice, no longer speak fluent Dutch, they can read and write Trio.⁴⁷ Because the Trio are very mobile and often travel to other villages, those wishing to contact relatives take the opportunity to send written messages in Trio with the travelers. At the same time, and probably due to their lack of general education, the Trio do not know how to implement the teaching of a foreign language. The general consensus among the Trio, and especially among the leadership, is that if it were at all possible, the Trio would give up their own language in order to be Dutch speaking, that is, they do not see the possibility of learning Dutch alongside their own language. In my initial meeting with the village leadership in Tëpu, for example, it was stipulated that if I were going to write a book about their language I would have to do so in Dutch (or English) so that the Trio could learn that European language. Koelewijn's 1984 collection of their oral literature, published in Trio, is in their eyes totally useless, since they say they cannot learn anything from it, yet the English translation published in 1987 is inaccessible since they have no knowledge of English.⁴⁸ They do not regard their own language as being a worthy subject or medium of instruction in schools.

Contact opportunities where the Trio are required to speak another language do not arise very often and when they do, they do not affect the lives of most Trio who are for the most part economically and geographically independent or isolated. I consider below a few salient points of Trio economy in order to contextualize the type of contact situations that arise, and I refer the reader to Rivière (1969 and 1981) for a detailed description of Trio culture and the impact of economic changes. The few Trio who are in paid employment include the village authorities, the medical staff, and those who are paid to mow the grass and keep the airstrips in order. In the case of the captains, their salaries are paid into a bank account in Paramaribo and every few years the captains are flown into town to collect it. The salaries paid are, however, nominal and much more money is earned by younger men catching birds or animals for a few animal traders who fly into the villages at short intervals. Those who have connections in the capital often send birds themselves to be sold privately. In addition, there are outlets in Paramaribo and in Palumeu for the sale of tourist

items such as necklaces, combs, rattles, and miniature bows and arrows.

Palumeu forms an exception in the sense that the tourist company METS employs both Trio and Wayana in their resort as kitchen staff, boatmen, and gardeners. There has, however, not been a significant effect on language use among the Trio of Palumeu: there is no greater proficiency in Sranantongo or Dutch among the Trio there compared to those in Tëpu. There has been a more obvious effect on the younger generation as regards their form of dress and some "modern" habits such as smoking, the latter of which is frowned upon by the older generation. Furthermore, Palumeu is often seen as a stepping stone on the way to town.

Even if one is in paid employment, however, there is limited use for money in the villages themselves since even if there is a shop the price of goods sold there is exorbitantly high, indeed it has to be in order to cover the freight costs.⁴⁹ Apart from this reason, the Trio are not adept at buying and selling for money, rather their tradition is one of bartering and they find it difficult to assess or appreciate the monetary value of an object.⁵⁰ The numbers in Trio are borrowings from Dutch. Moreover, transactions only affect modern non-cultural goods, and indispensable commodities such as foodstuff are not to be sold or even bartered, a painful fact that this researcher was confronted with as I got thinner and the thousands of fish hooks I had brought with me to exchange for food, enough to catch all the fish between Suriname and the Mediterranean, remained in my bag. This is not to say, however, that the Trio did not want or need fish hooks, on the contrary, but they would have preferred them as a gift.

In view of the fact that the Trio live in remote areas and are relatively self-sufficient, they have no intense contact with non-Amerindians. There is practically no supervision by the central government, and politicians only tend to remember the Amerindians of the interior when there are national elections and votes are needed. However this attitude rests on a mutual understanding and the Trio can move around, establish new villages, and maintain law and order themselves without involving the central authorities. Thus we see here a high degree of autonomy, with Trio the language of the "local" government.

HISTORY OF CONTACT

Contacts in the past were of a different nature and an entirely different, now obsolescent, contact language was used, namely a pidgin based on Ndjuka and Trio. But first a general word on the history of contact and on how the Trio were met and perceived in the past.

During the eighteenth century the general name for the Amerindians of the interior was Akouri (Acouri, Akuri, Akolie). It can be assumed that the Indians on the coast and the Creoles were aware of a group of Indians called the Trio in this century. In a report to the governor in 1796, F. Meyer writes of "a sort of Akolie called Trios" who had been warded off in an attack.⁵¹ While this incident can also be regarded as a type of contact, the first report of a less physical kind of contact with the Trio was by the explorer Robert Schomburgk who, in 1843 after great exertion, came upon a village of "Drio" near the head of the Cutari River who were living in a settlement at the source of the Wanamu and whom Schomburgk (1845:84) classified as a "sister tribe of the Pianoghotto."⁵² Schomburgk (1845:86) does not describe the Trio in any great detail but simply states that they looked very much like the Pianoghotto in their dress, their manner of painting their bodies, and their general rather "ghastly appearance." When they first sighted the white expedition, in canoes on the river, the Trio had fled in fear. After ascertaining that the intruders were not dangerous, the Trio were, at least initially, more curious than afraid to meet them and afforded them great hospitality. That the Trio did not totally trust the whites is evident from the fact that on the morning of Schomburgk's departure, when he went to bid them farewell, he found that they had already fled the settlement. This was, however, not before they had generously provided Schomburgk's expedition with food for the *ten-day journey that lay before them*. Schomburgk does not provide us with a detailed account of the Trio, but he does mention that they were in contact with the Maroons and that they considered themselves to be their "matties" or friends.

The next reported contact between the Trio and Europeans was in 1878 when the French explorer Jules Crevaux met a few Trio on the upper reaches of the East Paru. Crevaux's encounter with the Trio, however, was not as felicitous as that of Schomburgk. On arriving at a village called Aracoupina, he met with a sombre picture that he describes as follows: "Toutes les maisons sont désertes et au milieu on remarque un enfoncement dans la terre: ce sont les sépultures d'un grand nombre d'Indiens" (Crevaux 1883:275). Two of Crevaux's assistants were sent to scour the environs for the inhabitants and soon returned with a couple. Crevaux's proffered gifts were refused by the woman who pointed to three freshly dug graves and said: "Panakiri ouani oua, a la pikinialele, nono poti. Echimeu ouaca, cassava mia oua" which translates as: "we don't want whitemen; all the children are dead, put in the ground. Leave quickly, don't eat cassava."⁵³ Upon which the woman and her companion turned and left. Crevaux attributed the deaths to a smallpox epidemic.⁵⁴ A certain

degree of apprehension is still present today when strangers arrive in Trio villages and it is not unusual for a visitor to be asked: *otono menee*? "have you brought the cough?" Besides giving us the above short discourse, Crevaux (1882:39-40) provides a Trio wordlist of twenty-nine entries which, with a few exceptions, is identical to later wordlists and present-day Trio. Perhaps the most interesting thing about Crevaux's encounter with the Trio is that the woman addressed Crevaux not in Trio but in the pidgin that was used in trade negotiations with the Maroons, namely the Trio-Ndjuka pidgin as described by De Goeje (1906, 1908) and more recently by Huttar and Velantie (1997).⁵⁵

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the Dutch carried out three exploratory expeditions to the area which were documented in detail by Franssen Herderschee (1905), De Goeje (1906, 1908), and Käyser (1912) and it is from these writings that we get a fuller ethnographic description of the Trio and also a better idea of their language.⁵⁶ The wordlist provided by De Goeje (1906) contains 509 entries, including some short sentences. Käyser included a wordlist of 187 entries in his report (Käyser 1912:509-14). In 1916, the American ethnographer Farabee made a trip following the same route as Schomburgk. Apparently unaware of the Dutch expeditions and the linguistic material collected by De Goeje, he found the Trio, whom he calls the Diau, living in the same area where Schomburgk had found them. That Farabee's Diau are in fact the Trio is evidenced, in spite of the somewhat idiosyncratic transcription, by the 152 item wordlist he provides (Farabee 1924:208-11).

Later meetings include a Brazilian expedition under General Rondon in 1928, who met with some Trio on the Marapi (Rivière 1969:13). In 1940-42 Lodewijk Schmidt visited all the villages inhabited by the Trio in order to gain a general picture of the population numbers and conditions prevailing in the southern border region of Suriname. In 1948 Protasio Frikel, a Brazilian missionary, entered the Trio area and over the following two decades made a study of their linguistic and ethnic affiliation.⁵⁷ In 1959, a Catholic mission post was set up near a landing strip at West Paru in Brazil. A year later, as a result of Operation Grasshopper, an initiative taken by the central authorities to make the interior more accessible by cutting some airstrips, and for which purpose they used American pilots, an American Door-to-Life Gospel mission was set up at Palumeu in Suriname, followed shortly after by a post in the Sipaliwini basin (Vernooij 1989:127ff).

By 1963 when Rivière embarked on anthropological fieldwork among the Trio it was clear that intensive contact with the evangelizing forces had had a devastating effect on the cultural autonomy and heritage of the Trio in Suriname. Many traditional practices had already at that time

fallen into disuse. Besides banning dancing, drinking, and smoking, an end was put to the practice of shamanism and church services according to the Christian model replaced traditional methods of contact with the spirit world. The spirit body *wiripë*, an ambiguous and thus not inherently evil spirit, was assigned the role of Satan in the translation of the New Testament. One of my informants, who was diagnosed as having epilepsy, insisted that he had *wiripë* in his head. By having redefined the term to Satan, and even if this man is not a practicing Christian, the doubts as to the true identity and purpose of *wiripë* are sufficient to have a negative psychological impact on him. Moreover, the Trio were taught that their native practices were primitive and that they were poor, ignorant, and to be pitied. When my informants were referring to the pre-missionary days, they insisted that in those days they were like the Akuriyo of today, poor, ignorant, and to be pitied. When collecting texts from older informants, most references to imported concepts such as giving names to each month of the year, were accompanied by comments such as "*pena inkutuntëewa wītoto ... kepëewa mëinjarë nai awaintao irantato*" "long ago the people didn't count ... but now the year (thing) is out in the open, i.e. has been revealed, and now we know about it."⁵⁸ One major result of missionary contact was to reduce the mortality rate, that is, the Trio, as well as other groups in the interior, in the late 1950s and early 1960s were fighting various diseases, among these influenza and colds. When the missionaries brought in medicines to treat these, their positive results lent force to their message of evangelization. Thus, when the Trio, threatened with decimation, heard of the medicines the whitemen had, it was they who moved house in order to benefit from this. The result is that now it is not unusual to find up to four generations of one family living together.⁵⁹

While the contacts described above may seem numerous, they do not offer us any continuity nor indeed much linguistic or historical information. What we do learn from these reports as well as others is that the Trio were met as a group separate from those groups that are now said to make up the group such as the Okomoyana, Sikiyana and others. It would seem that there may have been two reasons for the later Trio dominance, namely their numerical strength and the advent of the missionaries who used Trio as the medium for evangelization.

One group we do know had regular contact with the Trio is the Ndjuka, a Maroon group living along the Tapanahoni and thus geographically the most proximal trading group, with whom the Trio upheld a trading relationship in the past for upwards of two centuries.⁶⁰ This trading was conducted in a stable pidgin which now has been replaced by Sranan-tongo. Some older men still remember the pidgin, not as a productive sys-

tem but rather as a set of formalized utterances.⁶¹ It is not clear if the use and knowledge of this pidgin was restricted to a few Trio trading on behalf of an entire village. Huttar and Velantie (1997:103) state that this pidgin is not confined to trade but that it is used for general conversational purposes between the Trio and the Ndjuka, as well as between the Wayana and the Ndjuka. Thus it may well have been a general contact language; Crevaux was addressed in this language by a Trio woman. The younger Trio no longer speak the pidgin and now use Sranantongo also with the Ndjuka. Huttar and Velantie (1997:103) likewise state that “many Ndyuka men in their 30s (perhaps even older) and younger do not know it [the pidgin].” The trading parties who used this pidgin also had a somewhat different status from the present-day traders. Although the Maroons, also in the past, drove a hard bargain, they were considered to be “friends” of the Trio and they had initially entered into a reciprocal exchange that was marked by drinking each other’s blood. The present-day Creoles are not regarded as having entered such a bond of friendship and while they may not be feared as much as they used to, they are certainly not highly regarded.

Thus there is no particular interest on the part of the Trio to intensify contact with the Creole population. That said, there have been unavoidable influences, especially on the Trio language. Although there is very little lexical borrowing into Trio, most of the loan words they have stem from Sranantongo, and to a lesser extent from Dutch.⁶² Borrowing is generally employed to encode notions foreign to Trio culture, a factor to which we may attribute the fact that in the multi-ethnic villages, there is very little evidence of lexical borrowing or indeed interference between the different Amerindian languages. In Kwamalasamutu, however, it would appear that the influence of a large number of second language learners has contributed to a tendency towards simplification or transparency in grammatical forms in Trio. To take just one example, we can observe how the ventive verbal imperative suffix *emii* as in *ene-mii* < see-ven.imp “come see!” is now generally being replaced by the more transparent construction *ene oh-kë* < see come-imp “come see.”

Most counting systems are from Dutch, that is, the Trio numerals are now being replaced by Dutch; the days of the week and months of the year are from Dutch. The numerals are assimilated to the phonological structure of Trio where the Dutch structure differs, inadmissible consonant clusters in word-initial position are avoided by the insertion of *i*, e.g., twee “two” is realized as *itiwe:/*, drie “three” as *liiri:/*. Table 6 gives the original Trio numerals.⁶³

Table 6. Trio Numerals

Numerals	Gloss	Numerals	Gloss
teinken	1	itamume	6
akoron	2	ipëkërëme	7
ëirau	3	enturatëeme	8
epima	4	iwatihkame	9
einjame	5	naka iwehtome	10

The Trio have a quinary numeral system, with “5” *einja-me* “hand-adj” literally “being a hand.”⁶⁴ The numerals 6 through 10 are morphologically complex forms for example, “6” *i-tamu-me* “3poss-leader-adj” i.e. “its leader,” which is the short form for *einja akoron i-tamu-me* “second hand its leader” i.e. thumb of the second hand. “10” *naka i-weh-to-me* which literally means “finished 3poss-be-nom-adj,” i.e. “its being is finished.” Counting starts with the pinkie of one hand and continues on the second hand with the thumb; when counting, the hands are splayed with the palm facing downwards. While the numbers 1-5 are still used in Trio by some speakers, they prefer to use the borrowed forms from Dutch for all numbers over 5. While some speakers use borrowings from Dutch for the days of the week, generally these are borrowed from Sranantongo. The days of the week are given in Table 7.

Table 7. Days of the Week

Trio	Phonetic	Sranantongo
monri	mɔnɾi	munde
tureoroko	tʉɛɔɾɔkɔ	tudewroko
rireoroko	ɾiɾɛɔɾɔkɔ	dridewroko
përeoroko	pɛɾɛɔɾɔkɔ	fodewroko
përera	pɛɾɛɾa	freyda
satertak	sɑ:tɔtɑk	satra
sonre	sɔnɾi	sonde

The following are some borrowings from Sranantongo:

sopu	soap
soutu	salt
empi	shirt
pīrastiki	plastic bag
oroko ⁶⁵	work
koiri	stroll, walk

The last two entries are verbs in Sranantongo but are borrowed into Trio as nouns which are then affixed by the adjectivalizing suffix *-me* while the subject is encoded on the verb "be," e.g., *orokome wae* < work-adj. I.am "I am working" and *koirime wae* < walk-adj. I.am "I am strolling around." Most younger Trio speakers are not aware of the fact that these are borrowings from Sranantongo. While there is no corresponding verb "work" in Trio, there is a vernacular verb "stroll around," namely the intransitive verb root *urakana*, 1st person *jurakanae* "I am strolling around" which now, at least in Kwamalasamutu, is falling into disuse.

Words borrowed from Dutch:

paterai < Dutch *batterij* refers to both a battery and by metonymic extension to a torch, the most important item requiring a battery since the Trio now use torches to hunt at night.

The Dutch word *peer* is a bulb. Bulbs are needed for the torches.

Portuguese/Spanish sources:

<i>karakuri</i>	money
<i>kamisa</i>	loincloth

Not all new concepts, however, require borrowing but may also be encoded by means of new coinages. Two basic principles underlie word coinage in Trio, namely size and movement. The size criterion is used to indicate concepts from modern technology that are larger than comparable existing concepts. Some are taken from the animal world when the new concept involves movement and the goal concept is imitative of the movements made by those animals. The base concept is suffixed by the augmentative suffix *-imë*, for example:

<i>pījankëkëi</i>	millipede
<i>pījankëkëi-më</i>	train
<i>pīmokoko</i>	libelle
<i>pīmokoko-imë</i>	helicopter

Another concept is the word for airplane which is based on the same principle of augmentation, namely:

<i>kanawa</i>	canoe
<i>kanawa-imë</i>	canoe-big, airplane (small 1 and 2 motor airplanes)

Jumbo jets have only been seen by a few Trio but they are regularly heard flying overhead. These airplanes are referred to as *kapuman* < *kapu-me-n* "sky-adj.-nominalizer," literally, "one as the sky."

The lexeme *parataimë* (balata "latex") can refer to a range of non-cultural objects generally made of a non-natural fibre, especially plastic. Thus balloon, bucket, and (leather) soccer ball are all designated by this term.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion the above profile reveals a language situation of stable maintenance of a minority language. In the past the Trio, not any more significant a group than any other in the region, absorbed other groups which resulted in an expansion of its speech community. Thus what we regard as the Trio speech community does not necessarily coincide with ethnic descent. We saw that vis-à-vis the state the Trio have retained a high degree of autonomy while taking advantage of any material benefits they can get from the central government, such as fuel for a generator, foodstuff, and clothes. From a structural linguistic viewpoint, Trio is dominant and in a strong position with few borrowings and a tendency to coin terms for foreign concepts. Culturally, however, much has been lost that can never be restored such as the ceremonial dialogue.⁶⁶ The pidgin used for trading with the Ndjuka has likewise been lost and replaced by Sranan-tongo. All in all the Trio language is still in a strong position and is ousting other minority languages such as Akuriyo.

In spite of the low number of speakers, approximately 1,500, it should have become clear by now that the Trio language is in no immediate danger of obsolescence, that is, it is not always or only the size of the speech community that plays a decisive role in determining its demise or growth, rather as we see in the case of the Trio, geographical, political, sociological, psychological, and linguistic variables may tip the balance in favor of survival. The geographical setting assures the Trio of fewer external contacts and a certain degree of political autonomy. The social structure that has evolved affords the Trio language and culture a dominant status in a polyethnic setting, thereby producing a strong ethnic self-identity that is reflected in language attitude and language use.

There are, however, certain factors that may still radically change this picture, namely if a large-scale migration to town should take place. Accessibility is now easier and younger men feel the desire to travel. In addition to this, traditional means of providing for a family in the interior, that is, hunting and fishing are losing their attraction since it is much easier to have a sack of rice flown in by the government than spend two or three days hunting in the forest with the dangers that lurk there. The transmission of survival techniques that were passed on from father to son has

waned, especially in those families who have the Akuriyo hunt for them, and certainly among young men who spend a longer period in town, so that there is a marked decline in the required skills. Two other more immediate factors are the intrusion by goldmining and lumber companies and their workers and illnesses such as Aids. The former are already close to the Trio settlements and one can only hope that political measures will keep them at bay, the latter has been diagnosed as having been the cause of death for at least one young Trio in Brazil and a few others have tested positive for HIV. One is sadly reminded of Crevaux's experience in 1878 when on arrival in a village, the first thing he saw were graves and the Trio had fled. One can, however, be sure that no-one will ever address any whites again in the pidgin that Crevaux heard since that too belongs to a long forgotten episode in the history of the Trio.

NOTES

1. The data presented here were collected during a three-month fieldwork period (October-December) in Suriname in 1996. I would like to thank the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) for providing me with funds to carry out this research. For their valuable help and suggestions I would like to thank Maarten Mous, Mechthild Reh, and Peter Rivière. I am deeply indebted to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden for affording me a Visiting Fellowship from February until December 1997 allowing me the use of all their facilities during the writing of this paper, and for financing in part my second fieldwork trip (December 1997-February 1998).
2. The term non-unique minority language refers to the fact that a language is a minority language in more than one country. It contrasts with unique and local-only situations. For these terms, see Edwards 1992:38.
3. Decision-making on a local level is tolerated and perhaps even encouraged by the central government but political decisions regarding land rights and handing out concessions to lumber companies are made by the central government.
4. The Trio build their own houses, hence it is unheard of for Amerindians to have to pay for accommodation in their own villages. It is, however, expected that non-Amerindian visitors in a village pay for their lodgings, less so because it is the usual thing to do, rather because it is a means of ensuring that visitors leave money in the village.
5. The Surinamese Trio, and in particular those of the two southernmost villages Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini, have steady contact with the Trio of Brazil and often spend longer periods in Brazil. There are many cases of some family members living on either side of the border.
6. According to the Trios' own reports they intend to stay there with their families to monitor the activities of foreign lumber companies. Just south of Amatopo there are old burial grounds of the Waiwai and possibly of other Indian groups too. The

report goes that as soon as there is any infringement upon the burial grounds, an army of Trio will spring into action.

7. For the most part in this paper, I refer to the Trio villages and the Trio speech community since, with some exceptions that I point out where relevant, Trio is the primary language in all the settlements. Thus the discussion of ethnic descent does not change the synchronic picture of a relatively homogeneous speech community.

8. The numbers given are approximations, based on my own observations and information from informants. Note that the numbers refer to ethnic descent and do not necessarily coincide with the numbers of speakers for groups other than the Trio.

9. In the early 1960s an American missionary set out from Guyana with some Mawayana and Tunayana who had been living there among the Waiwai, to evangelize the Trio in Suriname. It is not clear whether there were any Waiwai at all in the party. Since they all spoke Waiwai, that is the name that stuck, and the one that even today the Trio give these groups. Thus the people to whom the Trio refer in Kwamalasamutu as Waiwai are in fact Mawayana and Tunayana. The Trio seem to be unaware of the name Tunayana and refer to that group as Katuena with the result that some people refer to themselves as Katuena-Tunayana. As far as I could ascertain by means of wordlists Tunayana and Katuena are one and the same.

10. An exception is, for example, Sakëta which is a proper name of a village leader.

11. The *-no* in Tarëno could possibly indicate an agentive nominalized form of a verb, i.e. "one who ...".

12. Rivière (personal communication) has rightly pointed out that it is difficult to assess how old this term is since it is not referred to in either the ethnographic literature nor in the oral texts that are available (Koelewijn 1987). Since *pīropi* is a descriptive term, however, and as such not an ethnonym, I have included it in the present paper. Whatever the reasons for the lack of references to this term, it is certain that the Trio do clearly distinguish different groups so that e.g., an Okomoyana will be introduced by saying that he's a Trio but an Okomoyana.

13. A macro level classification by Greenberg (1987) places Cariban in the Ge-Pano-Carib phylum, branch VI of his Amerind.

14. The classifications by Girard and Kaufmann have not been published and were taken from Gildea 1992.

15. Indeed the few Pianakoto words given in Schomburgk (1845:82ff) show a high degree of lexical similarity to Trio.

16. Wayana does, however, exist outside of the Trio community with two villages in Suriname and some in French Guiana and Brazil. The Wayana in Brazil live together and have been fusing with the Aparai. Wayana and Aparai are both Cariban languages and are closely related. At present there is a high degree of bilingualism between the two communities with indications that Aparai is becoming more dominant. I would like to thank Peter Rivière for drawing my attention to this point.

17. Rivière (1963:174) states that the Okomoyana may be related to the Wama, Tiriymetesem or the Ojaricoulet. According to old Okomoyana informants the Trio waged a fierce war against the Okomoyana after a trading session and all but decimated the entire group.

18. According to Trio informants Sikiyana is another name for Maipuridjana or Maipurisana "tapir people", a group found in Schomburgk (1845:84) as Tshikianas, where Farabee (1924:194) has Chikenas, a supposedly hostile group. As stated by Rivière (1969:21) it is unlikely that *Maipurisana* is a Trio xenonym. The Trio for tapir is *pai*. However, the Akuriyo for tapir is *maipuri*. There is a regular sound correspondence between the palatal fricative /s/ in Trio and the affricate /ts/ in Akuriyo.

19. The Waiwai is a larger unit also belonging to the East-West Guiana group in Durbin's (1977) linguistic classification and to the Guiana branch in Kaufman's classification. According to Yde (1965:14), Sirewu (Shereo) is a Waiwai group, some of whom left Guyana to join the Hishkaryana, and others of whom had moved to the north. Derbyshire (1985:xiv), on the other hand, states that the Sherew is a Hixkaryana group, some of whom live among the Waiwai. Durbin's (1977) is the only classification which assigns Waiwai and Hixkaryana to separate branches. The acculturation of these to the Trio refers only to those living among the Trio in Suriname and not to those in Guyana or Brazil. The Sirewu community living in Kwamalasamutu has no active speakers but only a few rememberers. The older Tunayana are all active speakers.

20. Sergio Meira (personal communication) has met some Mawayana in Brazil who still speak their own language. Of the Mawayana in Kwamalasamutu few speak Mawayana, more speak Waiwai, and all speak Trio. Rivière (1963:153) states that Mawayana, as well as Taruma, "belong, or at least used to belong to a different linguistic group." It is possible that Schomburgk's Maopityan and Farabee's Mapidian - *pityan* is the Wapishiana (Arawakan) word for "human being, person" - are the same as the Mawayana, and that they once spoke an Arawakan language.

21. Cf. Koelewijn 1987:59-64 and 1984:79-90. In this text the storyteller identifies the Trio with the Pirëuyana who were the first people and who mixed with the Aramayana, the Aramiso, and the Maraso by drinking each others' blood. This does not mean, however, that the differences between the groups were then set aside or became blurred, rather, descent is still known.

22. The merits as well as the shortcomings of Frikel's work are outlined in Rivière 1963, 1969.

23. People are classified as being either *ëire* "dangerous" or *ëireta* "not dangerous," which means that formerly if one met a group of the category *ëire*, the strategy was to kill before getting killed oneself.

24. It is now generally accepted that the names Wama and Akuriyo refer to the same group.

25. The identity and status of the Tiriymetesen is unclear. The name is clearly a xenonym, a morphological analysis of which gives us: *tiriyo-me t-e-se-n* "ones as the Trio." -*me* is an adjectivalizer with the meaning "having the quality/attribute of" *t-e-se-n* is a nominalized form of the verb "to be" meaning "ones to be/being." Informants who still know the name say that they were like the Trio although their language was different.

26. Frikel's Prouyana are the same as the pirëujana mentioned above.

27. Under good conditions, this village is about two days by boat from Tëpu and four days under less good conditions. It takes about half an hour by airplane from

Tëpu. Since no permission was asked from the central government to establish the bible camp (cum village) there, it is unlikely that the authorities know anything about it.

28. Obvious advantages of moving away from the larger settlements are that game resources are more plentiful in less densely populated areas, that is, the Trio do not have to travel quite so far in order to hunt. It is unlikely, however, that new villages will be set up very far from an existing one where there is an airstrip since, apart from considerations arising from medical emergencies, the Trio have become dependent in a material way on goods flown in from town.

29. Kwamalasamutu is the only village that has a granman at present.

30. For a discussion of the traditional social relationships within a settlement, expressed by the term *imoiti*, the reader is referred to Rivière 1969 and his somewhat revised views in Rivière 1984.

31. The Christmas church service I attended in Kwamalasamutu consisted of a half hour's hymn-singing, and an hour and a half talk by the granman of which fifteen minutes were dedicated to explaining the birth of Jesus and an hour and a quarter explaining how the festivities were to be continued. While some people know the Dutch word "Kerstmis," Christmas, most people simply use the term "December," resulting in the rather incongruous statement I heard on December 26 which translates as "come on, you have to dance with us because yesterday was December."

32. More severe forms of punishment include lashes with a rod. The overseer (BOZ) has voiced some dissent as to whether the punishment fits the crime committed, such as for example imprisonment for adultery. The BOZ has little influence on such matters and, under threat himself, can only refer to a higher authority in town.

33. When the head of a nominal possessive is vowel-initial there is zero realization of the 3rd person possessive prefix *i-*. These two structures are, however, structurally identical.

34. Formerly villages were abandoned after the death of a village leader and often also after the death of a villager. Nowadays it often is the case that the former house of the deceased is burnt to the ground.

35. Having met some Akuriyo I can only insist that this is a dreadful misnomer. The Akuriyo are even more gentle and soft-spoken than the Trio, moreover they seem to have a penchant for hugging researchers.

36. On more than one occasion I had to deal with some quite aggressive monolingual Trio who reproached me for writing down and speaking their language while they wanted to learn the language of the white people. Thus many people see their lack of knowledge of a European language as a grave disadvantage and hence their sole knowledge of Trio also as such a disadvantage. This attitude is widespread and would seem to be a major source of frustration and eventually leading to a dissatisfaction with their own language.

37. "Silence is a form of anger among the Trio, perhaps the strongest," P. Rivière (personal communication).

38. I was unable to find any traces of the *tesëmiken*, nor were my informants able to understand or place the word.

39. My informants preferred to use the term *taame kato* "say taame" for this type of dialogue.
40. That said, some elders do recognize and appreciate the advantages of not having to sit up all night using "strong" talk simply in order to buy something.
41. The plosives *p, t, k* are voiceless and unaspirated. Intervocally there may be a slightly voiced allophonic variant of the *p, t, k*, but this seems to be speaker-dependent.
42. The same distinction seems to be present in Brazil as well. I would like to thank Sergio Meira for sharing with me his knowledge of the Trio language as spoken in Brazil. According to Meira, the /*k*/ dialect speakers along the Eastern Paru River may have migrated there from Suriname thus the east-west isogloss may not be very old. At any rate synchronically the distinction does exist.
43. There are sometimes longer periods in which there is no teacher available for Tëpu. Since there is no state or church-run school in Palumeu, the eco-tourism company METS have provided a schoolroom and funds to pay a teacher, however, attempts to find a teacher willing to go to the interior have not yet been successful.
44. Apart from the resort in Palumeu, tourists seldom visit the Trio villages, and thus as predicted by Rivière (1981:7), can be ignored as a factor in the dynamics of this society.
45. As pointed out by Rivière (personal communication), the situation among the Trio in Brazil differs in that they have had uninterrupted schooling in Portuguese since the early 1960s, thus the level of bilingualism is much higher there. The Surinamese Trio who travel back and forth from Brazil seldom advance further in their knowledge of Portuguese than limited phatic communicative acts such as "hello" and "how are you?"
46. Until March 1998 some Trio assistants, trained either by former missionaries or by the teachers themselves, were employed in the schools. These also taught Dutch and spoke a good deal of Trio in the classroom. Since the government take-over of the schools at the beginning of 1998 assistants without a diploma can no longer be employed. Due to the general low standard of education among the Trio, it is unlikely that a native teacher will emerge in the foreseeable future.
47. If one compares the present situation to that described in Rivière's 1981 report, it would seem that both the literacy and numeracy levels have declined dramatically over the last twenty years. It is now not uncommon to find teenagers who do not know how old they are.
48. This seems to represent a marked change in attitude since Koelewijn's collection of Trio oral traditions, a project that met with great enthusiasm. A number of reasons may be put forward, namely that the Trio are not exactly avid readers in any language, that is, they depend on oral transmission. They realize that unless they can defend themselves in the language of the non-Amerindian, they will always be at a disadvantage and must fear being cheated in negotiations with outsiders.
49. The goods sold in Tëpu are sugar, toothpaste, soap, buckets, and containers.
50. It is often unclear whether the exorbitant prices the Trio ask for a given object are based on their desire to get as much money as they can or whether they truly cannot assess its monetary value.

51. Cited in De Goeje 1943:340.
52. A report by Jacobs of a journey in 1718 (published in IJzerman 1911) mentions Indians called "Drijanen," who since they were found in more or less the same area as where Schomburgk later passed, have been identified by IJzerman (1911:650) as the Trio.
53. Crevaux's translation was: "blancs besoin pas, là enfants morts. terre trou. vites pars, cassave manger pas." Huttar (1997:120, note 7) translates this as: "Whites not wanted ... all children dead ... [they have been] put in [this] hole ... quickly leave ... [there is] no cassava to eat." I agree with him that the last part probably means "leave right away, don't stay around to eat."
54. However, De Goeje's explanation for the reticence of the Trio to be seen or have anything to do with Crevaux was one he heard from Majoli, one of the Trio chiefs, namely that the Ndjukas, in an attempt to save their trade market, had spread rumors that the whiteman was bringing with him not only a pernicious disease but also a few malicious Creoles (De Goeje in Franssen-Herdersschee 1905:945).
55. The last word in Crevaux's list, *teke*, is also from this pidgin. For more details of this pidgin, see below.
56. The common aim of all these expeditions, initiated by the Commissie tot wetenschappelijk onderzoek van Suriname (Committee for Scientific Research in Suriname) was to chart the country geographically and topographically and to acquire some knowledge of its flora and fauna. A concomitant aim was to collect as much ethnographical information as possible on the indigenous peoples.
57. Date given in Rivière 1969:14.
58. In Trio the word "year" is a verb, i.e. the form *iranta-to* is a nominalized form referring to the yearing process.
59. For some more detailed comments on the impact of evangelization among the Trio, see Rivière 1981.
60. Thoden Van Velzen and Van Wetering (1988:11) state that the Ndjuka began to move to the Tapanahoni shortly after 1760. By 1790 the migration had been completed. The fact that the Tapanahoni flows into the Marowijne made this location extremely attractive since they could then have contact with other Creoles, with whites in the coastal area, and with various Amerindian groups.
61. For earlier samples of this pidgin, which De Goeje (1906,1908) called the "Ndjuka-Trio-(Wayana) handelstaal," i.e. trading language, see also Huttar & Velantje 1997.
62. For the purposes of this paper I am leaving out possible older borrowings from other Amerindian languages, such as e.g., Trio: *wirapa* "bow" which may be of Tupi origin, cf. *uirapára* "bow" (Parissier 1903:32).
63. The numerals in this list were collected from old men in Tëpu, those above three were unknown to old men in Kwamalasamutu who used *tapüime* 'many' for all numbers over three.
64. The abbreviations used in the glosses are: adj. "adjectivalizer;" 3poss "third person possessive prefix, i.e. his/her/their;" nom "nominalizer." The adjectivalizer

-*me* carries the connotation of "having the quality of, having a non-inherent or transient quality." Thus, *itamume* "6" is to be understood as "being its leader, having the function or quality of being." Likewise *witoto-me* "human being-adj." is not a human being but takes on human qualities or human appearance (this is usually said of spirits who take on human appearance and traits), see also below for the concept "to work."

65. Orthographic *r* is a flap which in the environment of back and round vowels is realized as an *l*/.

66. It is, however, not clear to what extent older traditions are being resurrected or perhaps replaced by new ones. I was able to witness one ceremony involving seven cayman of varying sizes that had been offered by a man to his father-in-law. The cayman, still alive, were tethered to two posts and taunted by two women with sticks in a dancing formation, then one took a machete and the other a gun. They danced around the cayman, poking at them. Then the said father-in-law took over, likewise taunting them, shouting first at a child among the spectators, then repeating his words to the cayman "*atitome kuréta manan*" "why are you bad?" all the while working himself into a frenzy until he began randomly to chop at the cayman, throwing the chopped off pieces of cayman in the air, until they were all dead. The pieces of the creatures were then gathered up by the women, who in single file dancing and singing, took them to the river to be washed. They were subsequently roasted and eaten. The strangest thing about this ceremony is that as Rivière (personal communication) correctly points out, nothing even remotely similar is mentioned anywhere in the ethnographic literature, neither with reference to the Trio nor to any other group in the Guianas. One explanation I received later was that as a punishment for making fun of one's mother-in-law one had to bring her some live cayman.

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KI SORTO DI REINO / WHAT KIND OF KINGDOM?
ANTILLEAN AND ARUBAN VIEWS AND EXPECTATIONS OF
THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS

More than forty years ago the Statute of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1954) classified Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles as autonomous partners in the Kingdom. Two decades later, in 1975, Suriname gained independence. In 1986 Aruba was given a separate status within the Kingdom that proved not to be a step on the way to independence, as the Netherlands had anticipated, but was ultimately changed to the status of an autonomous country within the Kingdom (1996).¹ Neither the Netherlands Antilles nor Aruba wants independence. In the 1990s the Netherlands accepted that the six islands with their 300,000-plus inhabitants will continue to belong to the Kingdom for an indefinite period of time.² At the same time, the Netherlands initiated a policy of close involvement in the administration of the islands. This new policy, as well as the question of mutual relations between the islands, is the subject of heated debates among politicians and administrators on both sides of the ocean.

The views of the island populations on these matters are often taken for granted in these debates, even though there is little knowledge of what these views actually are. In view of this insufficient knowledge, a large-scale opinion poll was carried out on the six islands between September 1997 and January 1998. The survey covered the views and expectations of the Antilleans and Arubans with regard to the Kingdom, and in particular the Netherlands. Attention was also paid to opinions about mutual relations between the islands. It is the first time ever that an inquiry into the question of post-colonial relations has been carried out on this scale in the Caribbean.

In this article we first outline the regional context and the pattern of previous opinion polls in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. We then present the findings of our own investigation, and conclude with several remarks on their significance.³

REFERENDA ON CONSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS IN THE CARIBBEAN

An estimated 15 percent of the 35 million inhabitants of the Caribbean live in countries or islands that still have a direct constitutional link with the former colonizer: Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, the French *Départements d'Outre-Mer* (DOMs), a handful of British Dependent Territories (BDTs), and the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. Contrary to previous expectations, there is nothing to suggest that these remaining "not yet" independent Caribbean territories and islands will opt for constitutional independence in the near future. Generally speaking, the inhabitants of these territories enjoy a higher standard of living and better constitutional and legal guarantees than the populations of the independent countries; the democracies in these areas are relatively stable, and in most cases the residents of these non-independent islands are entitled to settle in the (former) mother country.⁴ The constitutional design of the post-colonial relationship is not the same for all territories, and so the question as to which construction is the most effective and the most appreciated by the population concerned is not a foregone conclusion.

Over the years various referenda on the constitutional status and development have been held in the Caribbean. It is striking that this has almost never been the case in colonies or territories that were preparing for a rapid independence. Official referenda have been held only in Puerto Rico, Bermuda, Aruba, and the Netherlands Antilles. Aside from these, opinion polls have been regularly conducted on a smaller scale. The outcome of these referenda and opinion polls have always been and remain the same: where the population is given the option, a vast majority choose to maintain non-independent status. However, what never emerges clearly from these inquiries is precisely what motivates people to speak out the way they do. Nor do the research results offer any insight into the question as to whether the decision to maintain a non-independent status implies that citizens are in favor of continuing the chosen constitutional structure.

In the case of the DOMs and the majority of the BDTs, decisions on constitutional status were made exclusively by politicians and civil servants, on both sides of the ocean. In practice this means a strong European voice in local government, which may provoke resentment and

political reaction, but not widely supported fundamental opposition to the status quo. In the case of the DOMs, despite a cautious decentralization in the 1980s, on balance apprehension concerning the consequences of European unification seems to have strengthened the relation of the DOMs with France (Burton & Reno 1994, Davies 1995, Hintjens 1995).

Elsewhere the local population was, however, directly consulted by means of referenda. Independence never achieved significant support. The referendum on the Netherlands Antilles (1993-94) provided clear proof of this (Table 1). Only 0.5 percent of the people of Curaçao opted for independence, and the corresponding percentage on Bonaire, Saba, and St. Eustatius was even lower; 6.3 percent of the population on St. Maarten was in favor of independence.

Despite the fact that proponents of independence in Bermuda pressed for a referendum, opponents of independence there were in a clear majority (73.6 percent) while the turnout was low (59 percent) (Thorndike 1996).

In the meantime these referenda have hardly provided any insight into the views and expectations of the people of the islands regarding the specific form of the post-colonial relationship. This question was not addressed in the Bermuda referendum, and in the case of the Netherlands Antilles only in so far as the Antilleans could also express their views on mutual relations between the islands.

Puerto Ricans were asked for their views on their island's constitutional status on three occasions (1951, 1967, 1993). In the latter two referenda the Puerto Ricans were actually offered a choice in which qualitative differences in the relationship with the United States were made explicit. Besides independence, they were also given the option of full statehood, and of (maintaining or broadening) the status of *Estado Libre Asociado* (ELA). The latter option entailed a considerable degree of autonomy for the island. In the course of time support for the ELA status declined (from 76.5 percent in 1951 and 60.4 percent in 1967 to 48.6 percent in 1993), while the option of full incorporation as a state into the United States gained in popularity (from 39 percent in 1967 to 46.4 percent in 1993).

The problem, however, as is generally recognized by now, is that the way in which party politics colored the three options made the questions in the 1993 referendum suggestive and insufficiently clear. For this reason a new referendum is being drawn up in which questions are formulated so as to offer the voter more clarity on the pros and cons of each option. The extent to which the various elements of the three or four options (statehood, ELA status, possibly an enhanced ELA status, and independence) are viable within U.S. political relations will also be explicitly involved.

The U.S. Congress will thus have the last word on the choices to be put to the people of Puerto Rico. It is expected that the choice will in fact be between continuation of the present status, possibly in a slightly more fleshed-out form, and full incorporation into the United States. The actual choice therefore revolves around the question whether Washington's involvement will increase or remain more or less the same. This does not alter the fact that a referendum along these lines would be the first in which a more refined set of questions is put to a Caribbean people – which *could* then lead to far-reaching constitutional decisions.⁵

THE CONTINUATION OF THE TRANSATLANTIC KINGDOM

The possibility of independence for the Netherlands Antilles and the question as to whether the six (and later five) Antillean islands should stay together or not dominated the political agenda of the Kingdom in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s the question of independence was shelved indefinitely in consultation with the parties concerned. The internal structure of the Netherlands Antilles, however, remained a point of discussion. Aruba became a separate country within the Kingdom. The discussion on the Netherlands Antilles centers not only on the extent to which decentralization is functional, but increasingly on the option of a further fragmentation of the Antilles.

Recognition by the Dutch that they could not *force* independence upon the islands meant that a major issue was off the agenda. On the other hand, there is an increasing amount of debate, irritation, and conflict between the partners regarding authority and competence within the transatlantic Kingdom, the main cause of which is problems in the public administration of the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba.

On the basis of article 43, section 2 of the Statute, the Kingdom is responsible for guaranteeing human rights, legal security, and good government. However, this article is formulated too vaguely to be of use as a practical tool in policy-making. Questions are also raised regarding the institutional design of the Kingdom, which includes the government of the Kingdom not being accountable to a corresponding Kingdom parliament. There is therefore much discussion about the need to “modernize” relations within the Kingdom. Another reason to revise these relations is the increasing internationalization and globalization of national policy issues. On the basis of international agreements, responsibilities that previously belonged to individual countries are now being transferred to the Kingdom in an increasing number of policy areas. In this context, updating

these relations also means searching for a new balance between the autonomy of the countries concerned and cooperation within the larger association of the Kingdom. Relations with the European Union will also increasingly have to be taken into account in policy-making.

Attempts to revise constitutional relations have not been successful to date. The Netherlands almost always takes the initiative in the name of the Kingdom. In practice, the growing number of cases in which the Kingdom acts on behalf of the individual countries entails an increasing influence of the Netherlands in matters which were previously the preserve of Antillean and/or Aruban policy. Antillean and Aruban administrators, civil servants, and representatives of interest groups regularly express resentment at the growing influence of the Netherlands on administrative affairs. Dutch standpoints on the one hand and Aruban/Antillean on the other are divergent to such a degree that it hampers successful dialogue on modernization.

So far discussions of renewal within the Kingdom have overlooked citizenries on both sides of the ocean. In fact, there is no clarity on their views and expectations; hardly any in-depth research has been carried out. This is a remarkable lacuna. After all, knowledge of and insight into those views and expectations can be regarded as a cornerstone of new relations within the Kingdom. Citizens must not only provide the basis of support for these new relations, but their views and expectations offer an opportunity to reach a mutual understanding.

The objective of the research project "Ki sorto di Reino / What kind of Kingdom?" was to contribute to harmonization and to a meaningful debate on a new-style Kingdom. The present research was carried out among the population of the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, on the assumption that any changes in the structure of the Kingdom would in all likelihood have more real importance for Antilleans and Arubans than for the European Dutch. As a consequence we may also expect that more intensive discussions on these issues will take place in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom.

OPINION POLLS AND REFERENDA IN THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES AND ARUBA, 1944-94

Only two referenda have been held in the history of the Antilles and Aruba: the 1977 referendum on Aruba and the 1993-94 referendum on the Netherlands Antilles. In addition, various opinion polls with a reasonable scope and coverage were held between 1944 and 1994.⁶ Opinion polls

conducted in 1944 and 1946 were limited to a faction of the elite of Curaçao who expressed the desire to have more say in their own administration, without wanting to sever ties with the Netherlands.

It was not until 1971 that the next inquiry was held. In the meantime there had been serious rioting on Curaçao on May 30, 1969. This was seen both in the Antilles and in the Netherlands as a turning point in the history of the Antilles, and as a caesura in their relations with the Netherlands.⁷ A survey conducted by Verton among the readers of the Dutch-language newspaper *Amigoe*, which is circulated on the Leeward Islands, revealed that the vast majority of the respondents preferred a continuation of the constitutional association with the Netherlands. However, when given the choice between the status quo, tighter links, or looser ones, most of them opted for looser ties. The majority of respondents on Bonaire and Curaçao were in favor of the continuation of the Netherlands Antilles as a group; a majority of Arubans, however, opted for a separate status for their island.⁸

Verton's survey was the first of a modest series of scientific surveys of the association with the Netherlands and the internal relations within the Netherlands Antilles. These studies documented several patterns. The low level of enthusiasm for independence in 1971 was to be confirmed with increasing obviousness from the 1980s onwards; the desire for looser ties with the Netherlands was to become less prominent over the years. An inquiry conducted by Koot in 1974 revealed that three-fourths of the respondents on the two islands indicated that they viewed the prospect of independence with some anxiety.⁹ However, opinions on the mutual relations between the islands fluctuated considerably over time.

A consultative referendum was held on Aruba in 1977, when the Arubans were given the choice of continuing the status quo within the Netherlands Antilles or independence. The referendum was held in a very tense political climate, in which opponents of a break with the Netherlands Antilles called for a boycott. With a turnout of 70 percent, 82 percent opted for independence as against a mere 4 percent for continuation of the status quo. This result was generally interpreted as a sign of the Aruban desire to become separate from the Netherlands Antilles rather than of a desire for full independence.

Research by Ten Napel and Verton in 1985 confirmed that the option of independence was growing less popular on Curaçao; a large majority of Arubans still opted for a separate position for their island, but they were certainly not in favor of independence from the Netherlands.¹⁰ An inquiry by Koot, Tempel-Schoorl, and Marcha in 1988 confirmed once again the low level of support for independence. In the meantime Aruba had achieved its separate status. Clear majorities on four of the five remaining

islands were in favor of the Netherlands Antilles staying together; St. Maarten was the only exception.¹¹ A few months later opinions on relations with the Netherlands proved to have remained constant, although in terms of the internal structure a shift had occurred in favor of the five-member Antilles.¹²

An inquiry held on Curaçao in April 1993 indicated that 6 percent of the respondents were in favor of independence while 86 percent were opposed to it.¹³ The results of the referendum held in November 1993 suggest even less support for independence (Table 1). With the exception of St. Maarten, the option of independence appeared to have been shelved completely; with the exception of a small minority on Curaçao, the status of province seemed to have virtually no backing either. The support for maintaining a five-island Antilles was still considerable, while support for a separate status was much lower than previous inquiries and the leading political parties had suggested.

One methodological problem raised by these results, however, was the fact that the voters only had one choice with which not only to state their view on a favored option but also to indicate a priority in replies that were not mutually exclusive. Theoretically, the choice of the overwhelming majority in favor of the status quo could be combined with both province and independence. The same theoretical possibility was open for the combination of a separate status with a province. This is the reason why the questions on the relationship with the Netherlands were kept separate from those on mutual relations between the islands in the present survey.

Table 1. Results of Referendum Held in the Netherlands Antilles in 1993-94 (in %)

	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Continuation of Netherlands Antilles	89.7	73.6	86.3	90.6	59.4
Separate status	8.9	17.9	9.6	2.5	33.2
Province	1.3	7.7	3.6	2.5	1.1
Independence	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.0	6.3

KINGDOM AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

Before presenting the main findings of the survey, we should point out that virtually no distinction was made in the survey between the Kingdom and the Netherlands. Of course, this is not correct in formal terms; after all, the Kingdom consists of the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles, and

Aruba. The decision to narrow things down was made on the basis of test interviews that confirmed the supposition that Antilleans and Arubans rarely distinguish between the Kingdom and the Netherlands. The use of the term "Kingdom" in the questionnaire would therefore only have created unnecessary confusion. In interpreting the results, the question of the distinction between Antillean and Aruban views and expectations with regard to "the Netherlands" and with regard to the relationship with the Kingdom in a general sense was of course taken into account.

Significant differences between the islands are pointed out where necessary in the following presentation of the general results. In most cases the figures have been rounded off; for more detailed statistics and analyses we refer to the complete publication (Oostindie & Verton 1998).

The first question concerns the preferences regarding the future of the five islands of the Netherlands Antilles, the second the desired relationship with the Netherlands (of course, the first question was not put to the Aruban respondents). The Antillean responses to these very general questions reveal a change of opinion compared with the results of the 1993-94 referendum. However, it should be noted that the refinement of the questions in the present survey means that the results are not directly comparable with those of the referendum. Nonetheless, the answers to the first question indicate that support for the present construction of the five islands of the Antilles has lost some ground to the option in favor of a separate status. Still, a large majority on four of the five Antillean islands are still for maintaining the association of the five islands. This is even the case on Curaçao where there is a good deal of support for a separate status. The results on St. Maarten, however, indicate a dramatic deviation from this pattern: the majority of the respondents are now in favor of a separate status (Table 2). This picture was confirmed by a control question that was later administered. The option of a separate status for their island is rejected by the vast majority of Antilleans with the exception of St. Maarten; there were substantially more supporters on Curaçao than on the other islands.

Table 2. Preferences Regarding Status of Island (in %)

	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Continuation of Netherlands Antilles	83.0	66.6	82.5	78.8	40.9
Separate status	14.9	29.3	9.5	17.2	47.6
Don't know / No answer	2.1	4.0	7.9	4.0	11.5

Table 3. Preferences with Respect to the Relation with the Netherlands (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Independence	5.2	1.8	6.6	0.0	1.5	15.3
Status quo	65.2	36.6	50.4	39.7	25.8	40.9
Closer ties	26.8	59.9	40.9	58.2	72.2	34.5
Don't know /	2.8	1.6	2.1	2.1	0.5	9.3
No answer						

When asked about the preferred relationship with the Netherlands, the preferences vary considerably from one island to another (Table 3). The Arubans are the most satisfied with the present status of their island, which acquired a separate status in 1986 and the permanent status of a country within the Kingdom in 1996. Half of the people of Curaçao are also in favor of existing relations with the Netherlands. Opinions are more divided on St. Maarten. The majority of the population of the three smallest islands¹⁴ opted for closer ties with the Netherlands; this option was by far the least popular on Aruba. Independence received little backing although the figures for Curaçao and especially for St. Maarten were appreciably higher than the results of the 1993-94 referendum would lead one to expect. This option was equally unpopular on Aruba. One respondent commented in this connection: "Si nos mester di ayudo, Hulanda tey. Ku independencia ken lo yuda nos?" (If we need help, the Netherlands is there. Who will help us if we are independent?).

The small group of supporters of constitutional independence mainly adduce arguments like "we must learn to stand on our own," indicating that the present situation is not running smoothly, and resentment over Dutch involvement ("Hulanda kier tin mucha di bisa" – The Netherlands wants too much of a say). On Bonaire and St. Maarten the choice of some respondents for "independence" seems to have actually meant independence from Curaçao, not the Netherlands.

Those in favor of maintaining the status quo are content with present relations and with Dutch financial aid, which provides security that many consider essential. "Pa nos haña tur sorto di yudansa. Kòrsou no para riba su mes. Falta hopi." (So that we can get all kinds of help. Curaçao cannot stand on its own. There is a shortage of everything.) They also brought up arguments relating to education.

Proponents of closer ties with the Netherlands emphasize factors such as security, more financial aid, the hope of progress, and better government. On Aruba a relatively large number of respondents mention more control for their own government, the achievement of progress, and the endeavor to obtain an equal partnership with the Netherlands. The smaller

islands once again refer to what they experience as domination by Curaçao. "Nos no tin kompania di Antia mes; pa Ulanda para na nos fabor" (The Antilles are no use to us; let the Netherlands stand up for us), was how one respondent put it. Another, on the Windward Islands, remarked: "We should deal directly with Holland, instead of doing everything through Curaçao."

Later in the questionnaire the respondents were explicitly asked about the possibility of a status as an overseas province, comparable to that of the French DOMs. Only the respondents on St. Eustatius are in favor of this option, while it enjoys least popularity on Aruba (Table 4). Apparently the Arubans considered that as an autonomous country within the Kingdom the island has attained the ideal constitutional situation. It should be noted that a preference for "closer ties" with the Netherlands is not the same as a preference for the status of an overseas province. The respondents who had indicated that they wanted closer ties with the Netherlands, but who now indicated that they were not opting for the status of a province, were asked exactly what they understood by closer ties. Once again there were high scores for arguments such as financial and economic aid and the expectation that the Netherlands would do more for the islands. In the words of one resident of St. Eustatius: "From the time I was born, I always knew that Holland was taking care of us for we are so small. It did a good job, so I want to be and stay close."

Arubans in particular indicated that by "closer ties" they meant a situation of mutual trust that should strengthen relations. Many respondents stated that they were in favor of stronger relations and more Dutch aid, but that they still wanted the government of their country to be in their own hands. Opponents were afraid that the clock would be turned back.

Table 4. Opinion on Province Status (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Positive	11.6	37.4	24.4	40.2	54.5	19.0
Negative	78.8	59.7	68.4	49.2	40.4	68.6
Don't know /	9.6	2.9	7.2	10.6	5.1	12.4
No answer						

Questions put later in the questionnaire indicated further nuances as well as mild contradictions, but without altering the general picture. An overwhelming majority consider that the islands cannot manage by themselves. This is the view of 78 percent of the respondents on Aruba, of 81 percent on Curaçao, and of even higher percentages on the other islands; only St. Maarten has a lower percentage (58 percent). The question as to what

people think of the idea of direct, separate ties between the Netherlands and each of the islands met with a strong positive response by Antilleans, and also by Arubans (53 percent), who already are in this position. The majority in favor is smaller on St. Maarten and Curaçao (45 percent and 46 percent respectively), but is still appreciably larger than the group of opponents (7 percent and 17 percent respectively).

The contrast with the earlier questions on separate status, which is preferred by a minority of the Antilleans with the exception of the people of St. Maarten, is striking (Table 2). The same is true of the fairly general objections to province status that were raised earlier (Table 4). Perhaps the explicit choice of separate status and certainly province status is psychologically one step too far. Be that as it may, a significant proportion of the Antillean respondents apparently believe that a construction in which the Netherlands maintains direct relations with each of the islands could still be combined with the continuation of the association of five islands.

Responses to a later question as to whether the Netherlands interferes too much in the running of their country confirm the picture of a fairly high degree of satisfaction on the one hand, and with strong reservations on the other (Table 5). A majority of the Antilleans and Arubans answered that the Netherlands does not interfere too much in the running of their country. Substantial minorities on the Leeward Islands and St. Maarten take a very different view.

Table 5. Is the Netherlands Too Much Involved in Running Our Country? (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Yes	40.9	38.0	37.6	12.7	18.7	40.4
No	48.7	52.4	50.7	73.5	75.8	47.9
Don't know /	10.3	9.7	11.7	13.8	5.6	11.7
No answer						

RESIDENCE AND PASSPORT

Questions concerning free access to the Netherlands reveal that this right has a high priority for four-fifths of the respondents, and the percentage is even higher (86 to 93 percent) in response to the question as to whether this right should be maintained in the future as well. Only one-tenth of the respondents consider these to be matters of secondary importance. Only on St. Maarten is somewhat less importance attached to them (69 and 81 percent respectively).

A quarter of the respondents show some understanding of the desire

often expressed these days in the Netherlands, which will indeed lead to full legislation, to attach conditions to the right of Antillean and Aruban migrants, especially those with few prospects, to reside in the Netherlands. All the same, a considerable majority (66 to 76 percent) on all the islands reject the possibility of the Netherlands refusing access to immigrants with a poor command of the Dutch language and low levels of schooling or professional training and prospects. A majority (56 to 70 percent) oppose the idea that Antillean and Aruban migrants should have to pass a Dutch-language examination before settling in the Netherlands, although the group in favor is remarkably large (30 to 34 percent, as high as 43 percent on Curaçao). It is striking that most respondents on the five islands (68 to 90 percent) oppose current legislation excluding the right of metropolitan Dutch citizens without a work permit to reside in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom. This percentage is only significantly lower on St. Maarten (51 percent).

The answers to questions concerning the preferred passport are in line with the preceding ones. The number of respondents who consider a Dutch passport unimportant is very small (1 to 2 percent, 4 percent on St. Maarten), although the responses to the following question show that, depending on the island, between 10 and 20 percent of the Antilleans and 23 percent of the Arubans would still opt for an Antillean or Aruban passport instead of a Dutch one. Given a free choice, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (83 to 93 percent) opt for a Dutch passport. Once again the percentage is lower among Arubans (80 percent) and on St. Maarten (68 percent). The possibility of a U.S. passport was mentioned relatively often on Curaçao (7 percent) and St. Maarten (10 percent). A relatively high proportion (12 percent) of the respondents on St. Maarten would prefer a "different" passport, especially a French or English one.

PROTECTION OF NATIONAL TERRITORY, DEMOCRACY, AND CONSTITUTIONAL RULE

The vast majority of Antilleans and Arubans (90 to 96 percent) find it important that the Netherlands protect their country against other countries. A majority (61 to 64 percent) on Curaçao, Saba, and St. Eustatius would be afraid of domination by another country should their country become independent. The percentages on Aruba and Bonaire are considerably higher (81 and 80 percent respectively), while the percentage on St. Maarten is much lower (48 percent).

Majorities feel that Dutch involvement in protecting territorial integrity

and fighting international crime is important (76 to 97 percent), though opposition is somewhat higher on the two largest islands, Curaçao (10 percent) and especially Aruba (17 percent), where a Kingdom coastal guard has indeed been operational these last years. Only a small percentage of the respondents (6 to 16 percent) consider their own country able to protect itself against international crime. The vast majority (83 to 92 percent) believe that Dutch assistance on this point is indispensable.

The Dutch contribution to the functioning of justice is also generally appreciated. Between 83 and 91 percent of the respondents on all five islands indicate that it is important that the Netherlands provide assistance in this area. The score on St. Maarten (77 percent) is somewhat lower and thus once again divergent. The same is true for the following question concerning the deployment of Dutch marines on one's own island to guard prisoners. It is only on St. Maarten that the opponents were in the majority (49 percent), while such deployment receives wide support on Aruba (72 percent) and Curaçao (74 percent), where there have been serious problems in the local prisons over the past years. The fact that this percentage is lower on the smaller islands (54 to 68 percent) is probably connected with the fact that there are no prisons there. The possibility of deploying Dutch police is viewed positively on Curaçao (53 percent), Aruba (58 percent), St. Maarten (59 percent) and above all St. Eustatius (73 percent) and Saba (90 percent). Bonaire is the only island where a majority of respondents (58 percent) oppose this.

With the exception of St. Maarten (47 percent), a sizeable majority on all the Antillean islands (59 to 69 percent) feel that local magistrates need not all be of Antillean origin. On Aruba 53 percent of the respondents do not think that all the magistrates must be Arubans. Whether Dutch deployment in the struggle against crime should increase evoked varied responses, even though there was a majority in favor on all islands. The lowest support is registered on Aruba, Bonaire, and St. Maarten (48 to 52 percent), the greatest support on the smaller Windward Islands (71 to 73 percent), with Curaçao occupying an intermediate position (56 percent).

Responses to questions on the functioning of democracy and constitutional rule suggest that, on the one hand, most Antilleans and Arubans consider assistance by the Netherlands indispensable. On the other hand, many at times take exception to the attitude of the Dutch. More than two-thirds of the respondents on five islands think that during the next twenty years the Netherlands will be necessary to guarantee democracy and human rights. Once again St. Maarten differs: only one-third of the respondents there subscribe to this view, while almost half of them believe that the Netherlands is not necessary in this respect. A sizeable majority of

Antilleans and Arubans (71 percent on St. Maarten, 85 to 92 percent on the other islands) felt that the Netherlands should continue to guarantee constitutional rule and democracy in their country.

ECONOMIC SUPPORT

It is obvious that Antilleans and Arubans consider Dutch economic support and cooperation indispensable. Approximately 95 percent of the population think that the Netherlands should continue to offer financial support, while a similar percentage believes that the islands would be worse off without Dutch development aid. These percentages are somewhat lower for economically prosperous Aruba (92 and 89 percent) and above all for St. Maarten (82 and 80 percent). A large majority (61 to 83 percent) on four of the five Antillean islands think that it would be beneficial if more Dutch companies were to locate on the islands. This percentage is lower on Aruba (51 percent), while a majority on St. Maarten (58 percent) answered this question in the negative.

Opinions vary as to whether the Netherlands is adequately promoting the economic interests of the Antilles and Aruba at the moment. This question was most frequently answered in the affirmative on Aruba (44 percent) and Saba (47 percent), but the majority on the other islands answered in the negative (44 to 52 percent, as high as 70 percent on St. Maarten). The number of respondents who were unable to answer this question is remarkably high (13 to 23 percent). A large majority on the Leeward Antilles and Aruba think that the Netherlands should supervise the financial policy of their administrations. Here too this opinion is shared by a strikingly lower number of residents on Aruba (61 percent), Saba (55 percent), and St. Eustatius (62 percent), while a diametrically opposed standpoint is taken on St. Maarten (68 percent rejected such supervision).

OVERALL OPINION, RESPECT, ACCEPTANCE

A considerable majority view the present situation in a relatively favorable light. Among the alternatives, the option of closer ties with the Netherlands scores higher than independence. All the same, there are clear reservations about Dutch attitudes and positions (Tables 6 to 9). The largest group of respondents (45 to 76 percent) regard Dutch involvement in the affairs of their country as having both advantages and disadvantages (Table 6). Only on St. Eustatius is this involvement viewed in a predomi-

nantly positive light. However, the percentage of those who voiced a clear-cut negative opinion was small everywhere.

Table 6. Overall Opinion on Dutch Involvement (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Positive	23.8	42.9	35.9	36.5	51.0	10.6
Neutral	67.2	48.8	55.4	50.8	44.9	75.6
Negative	5.2	5.0	3.1	2.1	2.5	7.4
Don't know / No answer	3.8	3.7	5.5	10.6	1.5	6.3

The question as to whether the Netherlands show Antilleans and Arubans sufficient respect evoked a very wide range of responses. The majority on Saba and St. Eustatius answered in the affirmative, opinions are divided on Bonaire and Curaçao, and the majority of the respondents on St. Maarten and Aruba feel that the Netherlands do not show them enough respect (Table 7). A relatively large number of respondents were unable to answer this question. A similar pattern of division and doubt emerges from the answers to the question whether the Netherlands sufficiently accepts that Antilleans and Arubans are "different," although the answers to this question were more often in the negative than in the affirmative on every island (Table 8). Once again St. Maarten is the most critical.

Table 7. Opinion on Dutch Respect (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Sufficient	41.1	45.3	42.8	63.0	50.5	21.4
Insufficient	49.5	43.7	44.2	23.8	39.4	62.3
Don't know / No answer	9.4	11.0	13.0	13.2	10.1	16.3

Table 8. Opinion on Degree of Dutch Acceptance of Difference (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Sufficient	37.5	36.9	39.7	36.0	42.9	24.4
Insufficient	49.8	47.6	43.4	48.7	45.5	63.9
Don't know / No answer	12.7	15.4	16.9	15.3	11.6	11.7

The question as to whether Dutch administrators and politicians have a sufficient general understanding of the local culture elicited similar hesitations (Table 9). The majority of the respondents replied in the negative. This feeling is strongest on St. Maarten, followed by the small English-

speaking islands – which is all the more remarkable since the latter are generally very positive on relations with the Kingdom. Perhaps this is due to the awareness that Saba and St. Eustatius are very far removed from the world of the Dutch.

Table 9. Opinion on Dutch Understanding of the Local Culture (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Sufficient	26.5	25.9	29.9	18.5	15.7	6.5
Insufficient	59.6	55.8	53.4	70.4	79.3	87.1
Don't know /	13.9	18.3	16.6	11.1	5.1	6.3
No answer						

CONFIDENCE IN OWN GOVERNMENT, AND THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NETHERLANDS

Probably reflecting their clear preference for closer ties between their country and the Netherlands, the majority of respondents do not have a very good impression of the ability of their politicians and administrators (Table 10), and only a small minority claim to have a lot of confidence in them (Table 11). These opinions are somewhat less negative on Aruba and St. Maarten. It is therefore hardly surprising that only a very small minority of the respondents (2 to 9 percent) feel that independence would help their island to get ahead; this percentage is higher on St. Maarten (23 percent).

Table 10. Opinion on the Ability of Antillean/Aruban Politicians (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
Positive	23.2	22.5	14.2	26.5	19.7	17.4
Neutral	58.8	32.7	46.7	36.5	36.4	58.9
Negative	15.2	42.47	36.7	30.2	42.4	20.3
Don't know /	2.8	2.4	2.4	6.9	1.5	3.4
No answer						

Table 11. Confidence in Antillean/Aruban Politicians (in %)

	Aruba	Bonaire	Curaçao	Saba	St. Eustatius	St. Maarten
A lot	16.0	10.2	6.1	27.0	18.2	18.5
Little /some	63.9	61.3	57.0	53.4	44.9	59.1
None	15.5	25.7	33.2	11.1	35.9	15.8
Don't know /	4.5	2.9	3.6	8.5	1.0	6.5
No answer						

Should foreigners perhaps be recruited for certain managerial functions? St. Eustatius is the only island where a majority consider this necessary. There is a clear majority against it on the other islands, particularly on Aruba (77 percent). When "foreigners" is replaced by "Dutch," the number of supporters rose considerably. The number of supporters and opponents on Bonaire and Curaçao is more or less balanced; supporters form a large majority on the two small Windward Islands; only Aruba (64 percent) and St. Maarten (56 percent) have a large majority of opponents.

EDUCATION

It has been stated repeatedly in various quarters on all islands during the last years that education is a major problem. The number of those who repeat grades or drop out is high, and the level of education is often considered inadequate. The current problem in the Netherlands of uneducated and thus disadvantaged migrants from Curaçao is attributed, among other causes, to the inadequacy of the educational system on the island. Education has come under fire on the other islands as well.

Should the Netherlands intervene in this issue? A large majority, varying from 61 percent on St. Maarten to 86 percent on St. Eustatius, find that the Netherlands should have some say in education, even though, according to the Statute, it is a matter for the autonomous country alone. The question of the deployment of Dutch teachers produced a less clear picture. While the majority of respondents on Curaçao, Saba, and St. Eustatius are in favor (41, 48, and 46 percent respectively), the majority on Bonaire, St. Maarten, and Aruba think just the opposite (50, 38, and 41 percent respectively).

In answer to the hotly debated issue of the language(s) in which primary education should be taught, by far the largest number of respondents choose Dutch (91 to 94 percent), with the exception of St. Maarten and St. Eustatius, where English is the preferred language. Papiamentu is also mentioned on the Leeward Islands (73 percent on Aruba, 63 percent on Bonaire, 67 percent on Curaçao), while there is a greater preference for English on the Windward Islands. Spanish does not enjoy much popularity in the Leeward Islands (15 to 24 percent). When the respondents were asked to choose only one language, two-thirds on the Leeward Islands chose Dutch and one-quarter Papiamentu. On Saba 61 percent chose English and 38 percent Dutch. The corresponding percentages on St. Maarten (where many Curaçaoans live) are 50 and 47 percent. The fact that St. Eustatius presents almost the reverse situation is no doubt

linked to the fact that education there, unlike on Saba and St. Maarten, is still in Dutch.

The question as to whether Dutch is important for secondary education is answered in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority (91 to 96 percent); the percentages are lower on St. Maarten and Saba (70 and 73 percent respectively), where English as a medium predominates. Once again, an overwhelming majority (87 to 98 percent) consider it important that their children be able to obtain grants from the Netherlands.

ARUBA AND THE SEPARATE STATUS, COOPERATION BETWEEN ARUBA AND THE ANTILLES AND IN THE KINGDOM

The secession of Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles became a reality in 1986. The island was given a separate status on the condition of full independence ten years later. Eventually, however, to the great satisfaction of the Arubans, the separate status was changed to the status of an autonomous country within the Kingdom in 1996. The vast majority of Arubans (86 percent) believe that this secession has been beneficial for their island. On four of the five other islands, the view that the separate status has been good for Aruba is much less common (44 to 54 percent). St. Maarten, where a comparable status is rather popular at the moment, occupies an intermediate position (66 percent). A relatively large number of respondents did not answer this question.

The question as to whether the secession of Aruba has been beneficial to the remaining five islands was most often answered in the negative. The percentage of those responding negatively is lowest on St. Maarten and Curaçao (42 and 49 percent), and somewhat higher on the smaller islands, with Bonaire scoring the highest (68 percent). Fifty-five percent of the Arubans believe that the secession of their island has been harmful to the Netherlands Antilles. Incidentally, many respondents did not answer this question (20 to 39 percent). The possibility of a return of Aruba to the Netherlands Antilles is generally opposed by Arubans (92 percent).¹⁵

The vast majority of respondents (91 to 96 percent) are in agreement on the importance of closer cooperation between Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles in such domains as health care, education, and the fight against crime. A majority are also in favor of a parliament in which delegates from the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles, and Aruba make joint decisions on matters of common concern. The percentage is significantly lower on Aruba (61 percent) than on the Antilles (71 to 87 percent).

ROYAL FAMILY, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, AFFINITY

The question of the extent to which the Dutch Royal Family is a symbol of the Kingdom remains open. Be that as it may, most of the respondents think that their fellow citizens like the Queen. Strikingly, this percentage is highest on the small Windward Islands (86 to 89 percent) and lowest on Bonaire and St. Maarten (62 percent) and Curaçao (56 percent), where in addition the proportion of those who did not respond to this question was high (21 to 26 percent). Aruba occupies an intermediate position (72 percent).

Interest in the Dutch language is remarkably high (83 to 94 percent). The responses to the question on interest in Dutch culture, however, are much more mixed. Saba and St. Eustatius show the strongest orientation toward the Netherlands (61 and 65 percent). Opinions are more or less equally divided on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao. On St. Maarten a larger number of respondents claims not to be interested in Dutch culture (50 percent) than those who are (42 percent).

Very few Dutch programs are broadcast on Antillean and Aruban television at the moment. A large majority believe that more Dutch programs should be aired. The English-language islands Saba and St. Eustatius (75 and 86 percent) score significantly higher than the three Leewards (68 to 71 percent) and St. Maarten (56 percent). Only a small minority (12 to 14 percent) view the Dutch language and culture as a threat to their own culture. All the same, there is some apprehension here and there: "I would not like for us to lose our heritage."

A strikingly high number of respondents stated that their own young people should help the Netherlands in the event of war. The percentages on St. Maarten (70 percent) and Aruba (75 percent) are lower than elsewhere (83 to 87 percent). Half of the respondents on St. Maarten feel an affinity with the Netherlands, but a significant percentage (46 percent) do not. More than three-fourths of all the other respondents said that they feel an affinity with the Netherlands. This sentiment is not as strong on Curaçao and Aruba as on the smaller islands.

Substantial minorities (25 to 31 percent), and on St. Maarten as many as half of the respondents, feel that the Netherlands only wants to keep their country in the Kingdom out of self-interest. This percentage is appreciably lower on Saba (14 percent). A significantly large number of respondents did not answer this question (12 to 21 percent). One-fourth of the people of Bonaire, Curaçao, and St. Eustatius feel that the Netherlands would prefer to drop the islands as soon as possible. This percentage is lower on Saba and St. Maarten (15 and 21 percent) and higher on Aruba (29 per-

cent), while here too a large number of respondents did not answer (11 to 20 percent).

ARGUMENTS IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE

Each respondent was asked to select the five most important statements from a list of fifteen on the importance of the Netherlands for the Antilles or Aruba, and then to arrange them in order of importance. Relatively clear patterns emerge from this part of the questionnaire. The Dutch passport is the most important element on every island, followed by affordable facilities to study in the Netherlands, the right to settle in the Netherlands and the European Union, Dutch economic aid, and military protection. On Aruba and St. Eustatius the argument that the Netherlands offers protection against international crime was included, and surprisingly, on St. Eustatius also the claim that the Netherlands helps them to retain their own culture.

It is striking that three of the five most popular arguments (passport, residence rights, and affordable study facilities) are directly connected with the possibility of settling in the Netherlands. It should be noted, however, that the Dutch passport probably stands for a broader notion of security. The remaining principal arguments concern economic and military protection, which on Aruba and St. Eustatius also include protection against international crime.

Arguments associated with Dutch safeguarding of good governance, human rights, and public order were often mentioned, but these are apparently no top priorities. No priority is attached to immaterial arguments such as the link with the Dutch Royal Family and contact with the Dutch language and culture, even though the majority of the respondents had already stated that they viewed these aspects in a positive light.

ARUBA

A comparison of the results from the six islands reveals that they are in agreement on a number of essentials, but that there are differences of emphasis – sometimes remarkable ones – on each island.

Aruba is distinguished by greater self-confidence and a corresponding, though not exaggerated measure of independence with regard to the Netherlands. The great majority of Arubans are satisfied with the present relationship with the Netherlands and are significantly less often in favor of closer ties. All the same, the vast majority argue that "Aruba is much too

small to be independent" ("Aruba ta mucho chikito pa ta zelfstandig"). The percentage of those who believe that independence is possible, however, is relatively high (one-fifth).

While the Arubans do not differ essentially from the Antilleans on their view of the importance of a Dutch passport and the right to reside in the Netherlands, they are somewhat less supportive of the right of Dutch citizens without a work permit to settle on their island and opt somewhat more often for their own passport over a Dutch one. The prospect of a stronger Dutch economic presence was opposed quite often on the flourishing island of Aruba. Positive answers were less frequently given to the questions as to whether Dutch economic support is necessary and valuable, whether the Netherlands should supervise financial policy, and whether more Dutch companies should be brought in, as well as the question as to whether more foreigners, and specifically Dutch citizens, should be recruited for managerial positions. Incidentally, that a large number of Arubans at the same time believe that the Netherlands represents the economic interests of their country well may be more a reflection of the fact that the island economy is prospering rather than of the actual Dutch contribution to that prosperity.

In the area of education too, the Arubans have more reservations about increased Dutch involvement. The Arubans attach more importance to Dutch protection against other powers (Venezuela) and especially against international crime, but they have very serious reservations about granting the Netherlands too much scope in this area. A small but relatively significant minority do not consider it necessary whether or not the Netherlands should guard the coast and believe that Aruba is capable of defending itself against international crime. The scepticism regarding the deployment of more Dutch police and magistrates is higher here than elsewhere, with the exception of St. Maarten.

The general opinion on Dutch involvement in the country is more neutral on Aruba than elsewhere. While it is true that the number of respondents who answered this question positively was lower than elsewhere, this is compensated to some extent by the category that passed a neutral opinion on Dutch involvement. Obviously, and not without reason, many Arubans regard the role of the Netherlands as less crucial than the majority of Antilleans do. Perhaps partly because of the relative success of their young country and probably stimulated by recent tension between the Netherlands and Aruba on the functioning of democracy and administration of justice on the island, a striking number of Arubans think that the Netherlands does not display enough respect and does not fully accept that Arubans are different from metropolitan Dutch citizens.

It is not surprising that the Arubans express a somewhat more positive, or at least more neutral view of the capability of their own administrators than on most of the Antillean islands. This does not alter the fact that confidence in their own politicians and administrators is not very high. As one respondent even stated: "Administratief Aruba ta un chaos, pesey tin tambe mal gobernashon pasobra ningun hende no sa kiko ta kiko." (In administrative terms Aruba is a chaos, it is poorly governed, and no one knows what is going on.) This limited confidence does not, however, lead to substantial support for the option of the status of province. The present status of an independent country within the Kingdom is viewed positively by an overwhelming majority. A good 50 percent of the respondents, incidentally, believe that the secession of their island has been detrimental to the rest of the Antilles.

Like the Antilleans, almost all of the Aruban respondents opt for more cooperation between Aruba and the Antilles; however, interest in a parliament of the Kingdom is clearly lower. As concerns themes like attachment to the Queen, interest in the Dutch language and culture, the deployment of their own citizens in the event of a war in the Netherlands, and affinity with the Netherlands, the opinion of the Arubans is predominantly positive, yet also somewhat more reserved than elsewhere. Arubans are also somewhat more suspicious of Dutch intentions in the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom.

ST. MAARTEN

The patterns that emerge from the survey on the five Antillean islands indicate a clear-cut distinction between St. Maarten and the other four islands. St. Maarten seems to be more outspoken than Aruba in a number of respects. A separate status is viewed in a predominantly positive light on St. Maarten ("I want to get rid of Curaçao and deal directly with Holland"), and the islanders are also somewhat less dismissive of the option of independence. At the same time confidence in their own government is stronger and the attitude towards the Netherlands is noticeably more critical than elsewhere.

Matters such as the Dutch passport and the right to reside in the Netherlands are regarded positively on St. Maarten, though to a lesser extent than elsewhere. The people of St. Maarten take a more negative view of the right of Dutch citizens to reside there. They also feel that Dutch protection against foreign aggression is necessary, although they are clearly less afraid of domination by other countries. Dutch involvement in com-

batting crime is widely supported, although the people of St. Maarten are more ambivalent than elsewhere regarding its concrete implementation in the form of deployment of Dutch magistrates, marines, and police.

St. Maarten is the only island where those who think that democracy would remain intact for the next twenty years without Dutch involvement outnumbers the sceptics, even though at the same time a large majority think that the Netherlands should continue to safeguard constitutional rule and democracy. A relatively large number of people believe that the Netherlands interferes too much in local administration and that the Dutch have an insufficient understanding of the local situation. The large majority who considers continuation of economic aid necessary is slightly smaller here than elsewhere. This is the only island where a large majority oppose the setting-up of more Dutch companies, believe that the Netherlands does not represent the island's interests adequately, and claim that Dutch supervision of financial policy is unnecessary.

St. Maarten islanders are the least enthusiastic about Dutch involvement. More so than the other islands, they feel that the Netherlands does not show enough respect and does not properly accept that other people are different. Consonant with these opinions, the view taken of the island's own administrators is less negative, more of the respondents associate independence with progress, and their confidence in their own potential is not as low as elsewhere. The province option scores correspondingly low, and so does the recruitment of foreign or specifically Dutch executives for managerial functions. In the areas of education, language, culture, and affinity, the people of St. Maarten give evidence of having maintained more distance from the Netherlands than the other respondents. Their positive assessment of Aruba's separate status reflects their own wishes and expectations regarding the achievement of a comparable status. It also reveals a frequently expressed irritation at Curaçao, which is often accused of dominating the Antilles to the detriment of St. Maarten. One respondent captured this resentment in a nutshell, sighing "Pourier [the Antillean prime minister] takin' all the money."

BONAIRE

The results of the other four islands suggest, in comparison to St. Maarten and Aruba, an even stronger sense of dependency and less confidence in their own strength and their own administrators. The respondents from the different islands are largely in agreement on the significance of matters such as the passport, the right to reside in the Netherlands and the right

of Dutch citizens to reside in the Dutch Caribbean, the importance of economic aid and Dutch guarantees for defense, safeguarding democracy, and constitutional rule. These issues will be dealt with in the following remarks where significant differences can be indicated. With respect to matters such as affinity with the Netherlands, the results are somewhat divergent.

Bonaire presents a picture of cautious conservatism, but also a certain ambivalence toward the Netherlands. Most of the people of Bonaire would prefer to see the five islands of the Antilles stay together, while at the same time desiring closer ties with the Netherlands. Their views on an overseas province vary widely, though a majority are against it; at the same time, however, a large majority opt for direct links with the Netherlands. Almost no one expects independence to entail progress. A relatively large number of Bonaireans, if given a free choice, would opt for an Antillean passport; yet they only make up one-tenth. A very large majority would welcome more cooperation between the Antilles and Aruba as well as the establishment of a parliament of the Kingdom.

Like the Arubans, the people of Bonaire are clearly more apprehensive of domination by other countries (Venezuela) than the other Antilleans. While they are strongly in favor of Dutch support in combatting crime and in maintaining constitutional rule, in contrast to other Antilleans a majority object to the direct deployment of Dutch police. More than half of the respondents do not think that the Netherlands interferes excessively in administrative matters. On the other hand, however, in the eyes of a slightly larger group Dutch administrators and politicians do not have sufficient understanding of their culture. Opinions are sharply divided on the questions concerning the extent of Dutch respect and Dutch acceptance of their own identity. The importance of Dutch support for the economy was unanimously confirmed, and Dutch companies and Dutch supervision of financial policy would be welcomed. Half of the respondents think that the Netherlands does not represent the economic interests of the island adequately. Despite this, the general opinion on Dutch involvement is positive.

The people of Bonaire do not have much confidence in their own politicians and administrators. Nevertheless, they were not generally in favor of recruiting foreigners for managerial positions; only if Dutch citizens were brought in to do the job would a small majority be in favor. Although it is felt that the Netherlands should have a say in education, and Dutch is considered the most important language in schools, half of the people of Bonaire – a higher percentage than anywhere else – find that fewer Dutch teachers should be employed. Such matters as sympathy for the Dutch

Queen, affinity with the Netherlands, interest in the Dutch language, and support for the Netherlands in the event of war are broadly endorsed; but opinions are divided with respect to interest in Dutch culture.

CURAÇAO

The results for Curaçao, the largest island, mostly coincide with those for Bonaire. However, it is undeniable that nowhere else is the opinion of the competence of the country's own politicians and administrators and the confidence that they inspire so low. It is striking that, all the same, the minority on Curaçao who believe that independence would spell progress is not negligible. A province status and direct ties between each island and the Netherlands are relatively unpopular. A separate status appeals to almost one-third of the respondents; the only island with a higher percentage is St. Maarten. The option of independence is slightly less unpopular than is usually supposed.

A majority still regret the secession of Aruba. Given a free choice of passport, the second choice on Curaçao is not an Antillean but a U.S. passport. In comparison to Bonaire, fear of foreign domination is somewhat less, while opposition to Dutch involvement in the coastal guard, the importance attached to Dutch assistance in courts of justice, and the confidence that the island can defend itself against international crime are slightly higher; the findings on these counts are closer to those of Aruba. Support for the employment of Dutch officials in combatting crime is relatively strong; probably this is connected with the fact that the current crime rate on the island is high and is the subject of vigorous debate.

From an economic and administrative perspective too, Dutch presence is apparently considered to be important and of an acceptable scale. Public opinion is divided on the question as to whether to hire more Dutch teachers. In many respects the results for Curaçao resemble those for Bonaire, though Bonaire is somewhat more positively inclined toward the Dutch Queen and in a general sense expresses a somewhat stronger feeling of affinity with the Netherlands.

SABA AND ST. EUSTATIUS

In view of their size, the two smallest Windward Islands, Saba and St. Eustatius, are probably the most vulnerable and dependent islands. This is reflected in the great importance that they attach to their links with the

option of closer and direct links with the Netherlands receives great backing. On St. Eustatius there is even a majority in favor of province status. On the other hand, there is very strong support for the continuation of the association of the five Antillean islands.

St. Eustatius in particular scores very high on all questions concerning the importance of the Netherlands for its own society. Both islands are English-speaking, primarily oriented towards St. Maarten, the immediate Anglophone Caribbean environs, and the United States, and much less oriented towards the Netherlands than the Leeward Antilles are. Remarkably, they nevertheless evince a relatively strong emotional affinity with, and cultural interest in, the "mother country": "We've been together for so long."

Large majorities back the deployment of Dutch marines, police, and magistrates, even more so on Saba than on St. Eustatius. The importance of ties with the Kingdom for the maintenance of democracy and constitutional rule receives even more emphasis. The importance of Dutch financial aid is stressed on both islands, though the people of St. Eustatius indicated that they expect more aid; the latter clearly have a more positive view of the introduction of Dutch companies and the employment of foreign, especially Dutch, managers. The general opinion on Dutch involvement varies from neutral to positive on St. Eustatius, and is predominantly positive on Saba. Three-fourth of the respondents do not feel that the Netherlands interferes too much in their administration, and on Saba in particular a considerable majority feel sufficiently respected by the Netherlands. At the same time, however, a majority aver that Dutch administrators have an inadequate understanding of the situation and of the fact that the inhabitants of the islands are "different." The lack of confidence in the island's own politicians and administrators is greater than on the other islands.

The Dutch language is considered more important on St. Eustatius than on Saba, which switched to English in education more than ten years ago. Sabans therefore judge the importance of Dutch teachers and secondary education in the Netherlands to be slightly less important. In response to the questions on the popularity of the Dutch Queen, affinity with the Netherlands, support for the Netherlands in the event of war, and interest in Dutch culture, the people of both Saba and St. Eustatius express extremely pro-Dutch sentiments. The fact that it is precisely on these two English-speaking islands that by far the most interest in Dutch culture is expressed is striking. Perhaps the fact that no other island has so few respondents who feel that the Netherlands only keeps the islands in the Kingdom out of self-interest must be understood in this context. Appar-

ently the people of Saba and St. Eustatius regard all the alternatives as more threatening.

PERSONAL PROFILES

At the conclusion of the questionnaire, every respondent was asked a number of personal questions. The resulting data provide additional information on the socioeconomic situation, family and migration patterns, and voting behavior of the respondents. However, analysis of the relationship between these variables and views on the relations with the Netherlands and between the islands yielded few clear patterns.¹⁶

It should be noted in passing though that these data are evidence of high mobility both in the past and in the present. Eighty-three percent and 76 percent of the respondents on Curaçao and Aruba respectively were born on the island; appreciable minorities are from elsewhere. Migration is even more significant on St. Maarten. Only 35 percent of the respondents on St. Maarten are born there; an equal number originally come from the other islands in the Dutch Caribbean, and 30 percent from elsewhere. Roughly 40 percent of all Antilleans and Arubans have at least one brother or sister living in the Netherlands. More than half have visited the Netherlands, and more than 40 percent of the latter lived in the Netherlands for two or more years.

Data of this kind may not provide an unambiguous picture of public opinion regarding relations between the islands and their relationship with the Netherlands. They do illustrate though that these six communities are not in any literal sense isolated and inward-looking islands. However, this openness and strong migratory tradition apparently do not significantly affect views and expectations regarding the Netherlands or inter-island relations.

COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS REFERENDA AND OPINION POLLS

In the present survey the people of the Antilles and Aruba were questioned about their views and expectations with regard to the Kingdom of the Netherlands in much greater detail than ever before. In this sense the results provide a unique picture, and thus can only be compared on a few main points with insights based on earlier research on these islands.

Independence has remained an unpopular option. On St. Maarten, where this option receives most support, it is often aimed against Curaçao

rather than against a continuation of the relationship with the Kingdom. Comparisons with the earlier Aruban quest for "independence" (from Curaçao) spring to mind. The option of incorporation into the Netherlands as a province received more support than might be expected on the basis of the referendum of 1993-94. Despite the fact that this is a minority option, it should not be ignored and is growing in strength. As in the 1980s, there is apparently broad support for a strengthening of ties with the Netherlands. In contrast to the findings of the survey conducted by Koot, Tempel-Schoorl, and Marcha (1988), the motives of the Antilleans and Arubans today do not seem to be primarily economic in nature. The security of the passport and the freedom of movement that goes with it are primary motives, while, in addition to economic aid, great importance is also attached to the safeguarding of democracy, constitutional rule, and security.

Support for the association of the five islands of the Antilles seems to have dwindled even further, while it is generally held that Aruba has benefitted from its secession from that association. Patterns in the responses of the five Antillean islands reveal clear mutual differences, once again illustrating the fact that the Antillean state is a fragile construction. The example of Aruba beckons, above all on St. Maarten, but also on Curaçao.

IMPLICATIONS

Given a choice, the peoples of the Caribbean, for largely pragmatic reasons, are not inclined to cut existing life-lines. This accounts for the lack of any serious support for the option of independence on those islands that have not yet broken with their former colonial ruler – even if this is accompanied by a gnawing and sometimes acute frustration at the awareness that they will always be less powerful than an overseas "benefactor" that considers its own interests and culture to be more important than those in the remote Caribbean.

The results of the present inquiry situate the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba in this postcolonial context, in which feelings of impotence appear to be as understandable as they are difficult to cope with. Once again it is obvious that the people of these six islands clearly opt for the link with the Netherlands; all alternatives seem less attractive. At the same time there are reservations about a mother country that, from the point of view of most Antilleans and Arubans, is unable to summon up enough respect and understanding for their island.

In the meantime the Netherlands has been forced to accept that independence cannot be forced upon the islands. In response, it has now adopted a policy of closer involvement in the administration of the islands. Concern about repercussions of Antillean and Aruban problems on Dutch society and on the image of the Kingdom played a decisive role in this respect. Geo-political considerations, particularly the readiness to play the role of a "middle power" in the region, are of secondary importance but by no means insignificant.

Now that we have a better picture of the views and expectations of the Antilleans and Arubans regarding the Kingdom and the relationship with the Netherlands, the ongoing debate on the structure of the Kingdom may proceed on a more solid basis. Large majorities on all the islands see the choice as one between the present relatively large degree of autonomy for the Caribbean parts of the Kingdom, and an intensification of relations with the Netherlands. At first sight the results of this survey would seem to confirm the idea that the citizens of the Antilles and Aruba would welcome closer ties with the Netherlands. This applies not only to administrative and financial matters, but also to issues related to education and culture. They clearly do not have the same opinion on these issues as their own politicians and administrators. This is tied to the limited confidence they have in their own power and the viability of their island societies, and to a low level of confidence in their own politicians and administrators. The Dutch policy of intensification of the relationship and closer supervision of government in the Dutch Caribbean thus seem to enjoy a measure of support.

On the other hand, the respondents indicate that they entertain clear reservations when it comes to intensification of Dutch involvement. Support for the extreme option of transforming the Caribbean islands into overseas provinces is very weak, although it would increase if the association of the five Antillean islands were to be dissolved. Concrete repercussions of an intensified policy, however, provoked mixed reactions, as can be seen from views on the deployment of Dutch executives in various sectors of society. It is precisely where Dutch involvement has been especially intensive over the last few years, as in St. Maarten and Aruba, that objections to it are the strongest.

An essential dimension to all this is the fact that there is a strong feeling on all the islands that the Netherlands does not have enough understanding of, and respect for, local society and culture. This grievance is expressed by both Antillean and Aruban citizens and their politicians and administrators. This is a crucial point at a time when the Netherlands is trying to implement a policy aimed at greater involvement. The combi-

nation of an intensification of relations and the islanders' feeling that they are insufficiently understood and respected carries the seeds of conflict.

It is remarkable that few Antilleans or Arubans view Dutch culture as threatening. Perhaps this is partly due to a certain naiveté; until recently the Netherlands was perceived as so distant that people have not yet fully realized how deeply the Caribbean communities could be affected by more intense Dutch involvement. On the other hand, we should not underestimate the capacity of the Antilleans and Arubans to evaluate the situation. After all, for these small island societies, the alternative to closer ties with the Netherlands is not so much some kind of abstract "independence," as subordination to countries like the United States or Venezuela. The devil or the deep blue sea? The Antilleans and Arubans are apparently deliberately opting for that small, but in their eyes large, European country which for the time being seems to be the most reliable, flexible, and generous on offer, even if it fails to understand them properly.

NOTES

1. This article is based on the research report *Ki sortu di Reino / What kind of Kingdom?* (Oostindie & Verton 1998). We should express our sincere thanks to Ken Bilby, Eithne Carlin, and Rosemarijn Hoefte for their help with the translation of this paper.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of three nominally equal partners: the Netherlands (with a population of more than 15 million), the Netherlands Antilles (225,000), and Aruba (85,000). By virtue of the Statute, each of the countries governs itself autonomously. An exception is made for foreign relations, defense, and guaranteeing good government; responsibility for these affairs is borne by the Kingdom, i.e. the government of the Kingdom, consisting of the Dutch cabinet plus two plenipotentiary ministers from the two other countries. In practice the Netherlands dominates the government of the Kingdom. There is no overarching parliament to which the government of the Kingdom is accountable.

Dutch economic aid to the six islands amounts to approximately 150 million US dollars per annum, the equivalent of almost US\$ 500 per capita. Antilleans and Arubans are free to settle in the Netherlands; the reverse is not true. The vernacular language on the Leeward Islands is Papiamentu/o, and on the Windward Islands English. The language spoken in schools on the Leeward Islands is for the most part Dutch, although Papiamentu is gaining in importance. The language spoken predominantly in schools on the Windward Islands is English.

For a general introduction, see Oostindie 1996.

2. This number is based on the following population figures: Aruba 85,000; Bonaire 13,000; Curaçao 160,000; Saba 1,000; St. Eustatius 1,500; the Dutch part of Franco-Dutch St. Maarten approx. 50,000. The Antillean and Aruban population in the Netherlands is estimated at 90,000 of which the majority are migrants from Curaçao.

3. This research project *Ki sorto di Reino / What kind of Kingdom?* was carried out under the auspices of the University of Aruba, the University of the Netherlands Antilles, the University of St. Martin, and the KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden. Representatives of these four academic institutions formed an Advisory Board. We would like to thank the members of the board: Michiel Baud, Maria van Enckevort, Jandi Paula, Han J. Quick, Anco R.O. Ringeling, René A. Römer (chair), and Wycliffe Smith. The methodologist Henk ten Napel provided indispensable assistance in this research project. The Dutch-language report *Ki sorto di Reino / What kind of Kingdom?* contains summaries in English and Papiamentu, questionnaires and explanatory comments on the tables which contain the complete research findings. The sample amounted to 2,518 (Aruba 638; Bonaire 382; Curaçao 668; Saba 189; St. Eustatius 198; St. Maarten 443). The large size of this random sample guaranteed a high level of reliability. The questionnaire contained ninety-two questions, and could be completed in Papiamentu, English, or Dutch depending on the respondent's preference. In practice this meant that on Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao it was usually conducted in Papiamentu/o, while on the three Windward Islands it was mostly administered in English. We refer the reader to the report for further methodological and technical information.

4. This does not apply to the residents of the BDTs. A review of the status of the BDTs is currently in preparation.

5. Caban 1993, Morris 1995:47-65, *The San Juan Star*, May 7, 1996, "Carta del Congreso al Pueblo de Puerto Rico."

6. The chapter entitled "Context" in Oostindie & Verton 1998 presents a fuller picture of the successive opinion polls.

7. A survey conducted by the Netherlands market organizational research institute NIPO in 1969 revealed that 51 percent of the respondents in the Netherlands felt that the Netherlands Antilles should become independent; 24 percent opted for the status quo. A survey carried out in 1973 indicated that 63 percent of the respondents in the Netherlands were in favor of independence for Suriname, and 62 percent supported independence for the Netherlands Antilles.

8. Verton 1973:36. The questionnaire was exclusively circulated in a Dutch-language newspaper, and was filled out on a voluntary basis; of course, both factors can imply a bias. The response was: Aruba 868, Bonaire 115, and Curaçao 1,644.

9. Koot 1975:18, 22. n=446. Fourteen percent of the respondents on Curaçao favored independence, while 57 percent were opposed to it; the corresponding percentages on Aruba were 28 versus 43.

10. Their electoral research indicated that on Curaçao 12 percent of the respondents opted for independence, 36 percent for maintenance of the status quo, and no less than 47 percent for a closer relationship with the Netherlands. This pattern was even clearer on Aruba, where the corresponding percentages were 10, 37, and 50. Three-quarters of the Arubans were in favor of the separate status that was to take effect on January 1, 1986. This confirmed that the support of an overwhelming majority of Arubans for "independence" in 1977 had been a choice for secession from the Netherlands Antilles and was in fact motivated by opposition to Curaçao, not to relations with the Netherlands. See Ten Napel and Verton 1986:38, 40. n=1,097 on Curaçao, n=399 on Aruba.

11. On Curaçao 41 percent voted for maintenance of the status quo, 38 percent for looser ties with the Netherlands, and 21 percent for provincial status. The corresponding voting patterns on Bonaire and St. Maarten were 38, 27, and 37 percent and 40, 26, and 34 percent respectively. The corresponding percentages on St. Eustatius and Saba were 54 and 42 percent respectively in favor of the status quo, 36 and 52 percent respectively in favor of closer ties, and apparently practically no one was in favor of looser ties. The number of supporters of independence on the five islands was so small that it was referred to with such terms as a "handful." With respect to national structure, the voting percentages on Curaçao were 63 percent for the five-island Antilles, 23 percent for a separate status, and 14 percent for an association of four, three, or two Antillean islands; the corresponding percentages on the other islands were 71, 18, and 11 percent respectively on Bonaire, 83, 2, and 14 percent on St. Eustatius, and 83, 2, and 15 percent on Saba. Only St. Maarten displayed a substantially different pattern: 37 percent were in favor of a five-island Antilles, 32 percent a separate status, and 31 percent an association of four, three, or two Antillean islands. See Koot, Tempel-Schoorl, and Marcha 1989:63-68. n=755.

12. The voting percentages on Curaçao now were 63 percent for the five-island association, 23 percent for separate status, and 14 percent for an association of four, three, or two Antillean islands. The corresponding percentages for the other islands were: 89, 4, and 7 percent for Bonaire; 85, 0, and 15 percent for St. Eustatius; and 84, 2, and 14 percent for Saba. Support for a five-island Antilles had grown on St. Maarten as well, where the percentages were 45, 33, and 22 percent. As to the motives for wanting to maintain the relationship with the Netherlands, economic grounds were mentioned most frequently on every island, according to the researchers; St. Maarten was the only island where the argument of legal security was frequently advanced. See Koot, Tempel-Schoorl and Marcha 1989:75-82. n=638.

13. Survey commissioned by the Dutch weekly *Elsevier* and carried out by De Vos consultants. n=590.

14. From this point we use the terms 'larger' and 'smaller' islands to refer to the size of the population, not to territorial size; Bonaire is in fact larger than both Aruba and St. Maarten.

15. The Antilleans were asked once again whether they wanted a separate status. The answers correspond closely to the earlier answers to question 1.

16. This is discussed in detail in the separate reports on each of the islands (Oostindie & Verton 1998:101-72).

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COOKBOOKS AND CARIBBEAN CULTURAL IDENTITY:
AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE HORS D'OEUVRE

In any attempt to understand the culture-history of food, the prescriptive texts hold an important place. The simple or complex fact of publication is significant in itself, indicating a codification of culinary rules and a notion that there exists a market for such information or an audience to be influenced. It can be argued that the emergence of the cookbook marks a critical point in the development of any cuisine and that the specialization and ramification of texts has much to tell about the character of national, regional, and ethnic identities. For these several reasons, a study of the history of cookbooks published in and having to do with the Caribbean can be expected to throw some light on what it means to be Caribbean or to identify with some smaller territory or grouping, and how this meaning has changed in response to social and political development.¹

The transition from the oral to the written represents an important stage in the fixing of an objective text and the standardization of its elements (as in the measures and cooking times appropriate to a recipe). The printing/publication of a text (as in a cookbook) is even more significant, since it makes the text available for discussion and criticism in ways that oral traditions are not. Such a process of criticism may accelerate the rate of change or rationalization and facilitate social emulation. In order to understand these processes of change, poststructuralist anthropology has abandoned the search for an underlying code such as the "culinary triangle" (raw/cooked/rotten) and its associated "triangle of recipes" (grilled-roasted/smoked/boiled), and seeks rather to take a developmental approach (Goody 1982, 1987; Mennell 1985). Studies of culinary texts have, however, been few. Perhaps, it has been said, this is because few scholars are

cooks, and even fewer cooks are scholars. Again, the cookbook may have been seen as too humble a literary form to be deserving of attention from historians or the neglect can be interpreted in gender terms (Appadurai 1988; Bell & Valentine 1997:172-75).

The present paper offers no more than an appetizer, a partial and preliminary survey of the area, based primarily on an analysis of 119 English-language cookbooks published in or having to do with the Caribbean. All of these are listed in the References below, but the sample is incomplete even for the "Anglophone" Caribbean. One reason for this incompleteness is that libraries seem not to have followed an aggressive acquisition policy in respect to the humble cookbook. Some of the books are true ephemera, easily falling outside the net, but a good number of items resting on kitchen shelves are not found in the region's public libraries. In any case, the interpretation of trends in the quantity and content of cookbooks must be approached cautiously, bearing in mind the poor survival chances of this literature in libraries public and private. It is indicative that the review articles of Richard and Sally Price, regularly published in the *NWIG* between 1992 and 1996, included few Caribbean-published cookbooks in spite of their culinary metaphors.

Table 1. A Sample of English-Language Caribbean Cookbooks, 1890-1997

First edition	Published in Jamaica	Published in other (British) Caribbean territories	Published in other Caribbean territories	Published outside the Caribbean	Total
1890-1899	1	-	-	-	1
1900-1909	-	-	-	1	1
1910-1919	-	-	-	-	-
1920-1929	1	-	-	1	2
1930-1939	-	-	-	-	-
1940-1949	-	1	-	1	2
1950-1959	-	-	2	-	2
1960-1969	2	3	-	1	6
1970-1979	7	4	4	10	25
1980-1989	22	8	3	14	47
1990-1997	16	6	2	9	33
Total	49	22	11	37	119

Table 1 sets out a preliminary chronology of the publishing history of English-language cookbooks relating to the Caribbean, derived from the sample of 119 items. A few points of definition are necessary. Publications counted as "cookbooks" are separate printed items devoted to the pre-

sentation of recipes for the preparation of food (and occasionally also drink). Recipes also appear in travel guides and newspapers, for example, but these are not counted. Manuscript collections are also excluded. The table is most reliable for Jamaica, but the pattern is similar for most of the categories, so some broad generalizations can be advanced knowing that further research, particularly on the Hispanic Caribbean, will no doubt demand revision.

The earliest known English-language cookbook published in the Caribbean is Caroline Sullivan's *Jamaica Cookery Book* of 1893. A trickle followed down to the 1960s, and then there was an explosion in output that continues to the present. Two questions stand out. Why did publication begin so late, and why has the cookbook become so common in the last twenty years?

In Western Europe, cookbooks were among the earliest of printed books and by the middle of the sixteenth century cookbooks had been printed in all of the main languages of the region (Mennell 1985:65). The Chinese had been printing verbal texts since the seventh or eighth century and the first known cookbook appeared during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) (Chang 1977:87; Anderson 1988:56). In the Caribbean and the Americas generally, printing followed on the heels of European colonization and served as a tool of the European civilizing mission. The Caribbean became a major producer of food, and manuals were written to guide this production in its agricultural and labor aspects during the period of slavery. But no cookbooks have been identified.

From the middle of the eighteenth century, English cookbooks included "West Indian" recipes. For example, the fifth edition of *The Art of Cookery* by Hannah Glasse, published in 1755, contained elaborate instructions on how "To dress a turtle the West Indian way." Glasse noted that "In the West Indies they generally souse the fins, and eat them cold, omit the liver, and only send to the table the callepy, and soop" (Glasse 1775:67). Recipes for the cooking of turtle remained common in English cookbooks (Carter 1772:28; Briggs 1792:54). Both English and North American cookbooks occasionally referred to the Caribbean, in the eighteenth century, as in "West-India pepper pot" (soup) and directions how to "caveach" fish "as practised in the West Indies" (Briggs 1792:35; Hooker 1984:58). No doubt West Indian planters and merchants, and their wives, possessed copies of such cookbooks but they did not reprint them or produce works defining a particular "West Indian" cuisine.

The first cookbook published in the United States of "American" authorship appeared in 1796 (Simmons 1965; Lowenstein 1972:4). No such manuals appeared during the colonial period. The association with the

establishment of the nation/state is significant; but it is equally important to observe that slave society and a developed cuisine, as symbolized by the cookbook, were not contradictory. Goody (1982:98) has argued that cookbooks are most likely to appear in literate civilizations with "high" and "low" cuisines: "a truly differentiated cuisine marking a society that is stratified culturally as well as politically." He has argued also that the nature of a cuisine is closely related to the system of food production and distribution. Where the display of class hierarchies is seen as critical to the maintenance of a social order, and where the powerful classes consume exotic, expensive foods, there cookbooks with their communication of specialist knowledge are likely to be published (Appadurai 1988:4).

This argument suggests several interesting interpretations of the Caribbean case. One is that the ingredients and techniques of food preparation were not strongly differentiated and that a "creole" cuisine readily understood by cooks, slave or free, emerged at an early period. There is evidence to support this conclusion, but equally there is much to suggest that the planter class did enjoy and display a cuisine which was "high" in quality as well as quantity. Certainly food was a cultural focus. Alternatively, it may be contended that the rapid rise of absentee-proprietorship and the shrinkage of the white population in the British West Indies meant too few high tables to provide a market for specialized cookbooks and too few literate cooks to make use of them. The male dominance of white society may be significant here, removing a potential literate female supervisory class from the kitchen. Yet another interpretation might be that the West Indian planter class was too powerfully oriented to English culture and that its high cuisine related almost exclusively to dishes that could be prepared from an English cookbook. This is not very convincing, in terms of the evidence found of planter tables, and it may be concluded that the arguments rooted in the size of the market and the creolization of cooks and cookery seem much more fruitful lines of investigation.

Thus far the argument has been concerned with an absence, the failure of the sugar-slavery society of the West Indies to produce even one cookbook with a creole/regional orientation. Emancipation made no difference. It was not until the 1890s and the collapse of sugar in Jamaica that a cookbook was published, with a self-conscious "Jamaican" perspective. Caroline Sullivan's *Jamaica Cookery Book* of 1893, beginning appropriately with turtle soup, was directed especially at "new-comers" to the island and explained for their benefit the ways of the "natives." This approach reflected the resurgence of the plantation, particularly through the banana, and the arrival of a new kind of white "settler" and "visitor." On salt-fish, Sullivan said (1893:12-15): "It is surprising to most new-

comers to find that in Jamaica there is hardly a more popular dish among the natives and often among the upper classes than the despised salt-fish, eaten at home [Great Britain] not from choice, – but as a sort of penitential dish.” On meat, she said that “In this little work ... my desire is merely to introduce to new-comers to Jamaica, our own native methods of cooking our own products.” She succeeded in producing a book almost exclusively based on uniquely “Jamaican” recipes, bringing together high and low cuisines for a middle- and upper-class audience. Although Sullivan’s book was reprinted in 1897, it was soon lost to local memory and returned to manuscript form in a reverse progression from oral to written to printed. Thus in 1984 John Pringle privately printed a collection of recipes reputedly collected by his father’s housekeeper and written in exercise books, which proved to have been merely a manuscript copy of Sullivan’s published book. Sullivan herself gives no clues to the sources of her “collection” but they were no doubt a mix of oral and written texts, obtained from cooks and housekeepers and contemporary publications including newspapers (to which she refers explicitly).

The *Recipes for Cooking West Indian Yams* published in 1902 by the Imperial Department of Agriculture were designed for a metropolitan readership, since “an effort is about to be made to introduce West Indian yams into the markets of the United States and Canada and of the United Kingdom” (preface). Interestingly, this publication argued that when in season yams “form a standard dish at the planters table, in addition to being one of the staple foods of the estate labourers and, in fact, of all classes throughout the West Indies” (Imperial Department of Agriculture 1902:6). Recipes (contributed by Mrs. J.R. Bovell) were offered for baked, boiled and roasted yams, and for yam chips, yam rice, yam rissoles, yam *au choux*, porcupine yam, yam fritters, and yam pudding.

A *Handbook of Trinidad Cookery*, compiled by an unnamed (female) editor and published in England around 1920, collected recipes “kindly contributed by housewives.” In this case there was no attempt to define a creole cuisine, though the reader was assured that all of the ingredients and utensils could be obtained in Trinidad. The arrangement was mechanically alphabetical, beginning with “Agouti à la Sandiford” contributed by Mrs. Greig. All of the contributors were female, Mrs. someone or other, including some probable Barbadians (Mrs. Yearwood who offered “sweet Barbados biscuits” and Mrs. E.L. Bovell with “jug”). None of the recipe names were associated with “Trinidad” but there were four “creole” items: creole cocoa, creole savoury (melangene), creole salad (calaloo, potatoes, breadnuts, onion, lime juice), and salt fish à la creole. There were recipes for lappe, pilau, sancocho, pepper pot, calaloo, but no pastelles.

Bengal chutney was contributed by Mrs. Adolphus Gittens, and "Bobotee" (Indian curry) by Mrs. Rankin.

Similar in approach and style was *The Peter Pan Book of Recipes* compiled by Mrs. W. Baillie and published in Jamaica in 1928. This is the first Caribbean cookbook identified without any West Indian reference in its title. The book has no introduction or preface and simply commences with "Baked Banana." Recipes for breadfruit, cassava, coconut, and other local materials are mixed with macaroni, scones, and junket; the only section identified with the island is for "Jamaica drinks" (tamarind water, sorrel, pine, and sour sop drink). This then is the first example of a general cookbook, unreflective of any local orientation, sold to raise funds for charity, at one shilling a copy towards the Jamaica Wesleyan Children's Home. Such ventures were to become common in the later twentieth century.

No new cookbooks have been identified for the 1930s. Two were published in the 1940s, one in Trinidad and the other in London, but none in the 1950s. In the case of Jamaica no cookbook is known for the entire period 1930 to 1962, the period of social unrest leading up to Federation and independence. No cookbook associated with the Federation has been identified. It must be concluded then that the formation of national identities prior to political independence in the British colonies found no significant expression in the definition of a West Indian cuisine.

The two cookbooks of the 1940s stand out as exceptions to this general rule. The first of these, *West Indian Cookery*, was published in London in June 1945 and reprinted regularly down to 1976 when a revised, abbreviated version appeared. The author, Miss E. Phyllis Clark, was "formerly Lecturer in Domestic Science, Government Training College for Teachers, Trinidad and Tobago and of Department of Education, Uganda." She prepared the book "at the express request of the Trinidad and Tobago Nutrition Committee" and it was intended to "foster in the young a correct attitude" towards nutrition and diet, and to reduce the incidence of malnutrition. Thus the approach was strictly didactic and the contents divided between sections on "Food" and "How to Cook Foods." The nutritional information came first, with West Indian references but generally presented in a universal/tropical framework. Only Chapter 10 "Ground Provisions" had a genuinely local ring to it. The second section included a discussion of mud ovens and coal-pots but followed through to the electric stove. The recipes included pastelles, sancoche, and the like, without explicit association with any Caribbean or Trinidadian identity.

"Creole" dishes included only creole pea soup, creole turtle soup, creole sauce or gravy, and creole pepper sauce. "Jamaica akras" was the only

recipe to mention the name of a West Indian island colony in its title. Of greater interest is the inclusion of a series of special chapters on diets for babies, toddlers, mothers, sick people and vegetarians, followed by East Indian recipes to "cater for the requirements of the substantial proportion of East Indian population of some of the Islands," and a chapter of Chinese dishes. These last two chapters remain virtually intact in later editions.

If Clark's *West Indian Cookery* lacked a strong regional identity Jean de Boissiere's *Cooking Creole* published three years later in 1948 was self-conscious in its message. A critic of colonial society, de Boissiere (1907-53) belonged to the French Creole strand of Trinidadian culture. Although de Boissiere was apparently the first male to publish a West Indian cookbook, he consistently identified the cook as female. In the "Entree" to *Cooking Creole* he claimed that "To understand Trinidad it is essential you know her foods and live by them" (de Boissiere 1992:3). In the course of a week, said de Boissiere, typical Creole meals touched the English (roast beef and baked potatoes), the French (saltfish au gratin), Spain (peppers and corn), and India (marsala). Interestingly, Africa is absent from the list, but he argued that "Creole cooking is international; all national prejudices must be dropped and our food approached with an open palate" (de Boissiere 1992:3). His recipes did however include dishes of "African origin." The 1992 reprint of *Cooking Creole* carries an introduction by Gerard Besson which gives a larger place to Africa in the development of a "patois of taste," and also includes the Chinese and Portuguese as contributors to "Creole cooking or West Indian cooking ... a grand amalgam of our historical experience" (de Boissiere 1992:introduction).

The first cookbook, so far identified, published in Jamaica in the 1960s was Leila Brandon's *A Merry-Go-Round of Recipes from Jamaica*, first appearing in 1963, the year after independence. It was directed particularly at "Jamaicans living away from home who have a nostalgic longing for dishes peculiarly Jamaican, and also to visitors to Jamaica who have a flair for cooking and would like to try their hands at dishes they have enjoyed here." These two new audiences were to remain important for the following thirty years. Beyond this objective, however, Brandon (1963:3), with a reputation for Stony Hill haute cuisine, expressed a desire "to see produced a really comprehensive Cook Book from Jamaica which would take its place in the countries all over the world, famed for their excellent cuisine." In these ways, can be seen a claim for West Indian cuisine as "high" rather than low or common, and hence a justification for the fixing of texts. Equally can be seen a looking back, from the perspective of the diaspora, to a style of cooking which should be preserved. Brandon began

with "Jamaica Rum Baba," in which local rum was the national element. She also offered recipes for "Dundee Cake (à la Jamaïque)," "Jamaica Rum Souffle," "Jamaica Rum Cream," "Jamaica Northshore Devilled Lobster," "Jamaica Stamp and Go," "Jamaica Planter's Cheese Cake," "Jamaica Limbo Plantain," "Jamaica Corned Beef," "Jamaica Coca Fritters," "Jamaica Shrimp-and Rice," "Jamaica Beef Patties," "Jamaica Sweet Potato Pone," "Jamaica Yellow Yam Pudding," and a series of "Jamaica" drinks. Rice and peas Brandon identified as "Jamaica Coat of Arms." Two recipes for salt fish and ackee were offered, the first an "overseas version" using canned ackee and the second "a Jamaican specialty." Brandon also included "traditional" Jamaica Christmas pudding.

Of the forty-five cookbooks published in Jamaica since 1970, nineteen were written or edited by women and nine by men. The authors of the remainder have not been identified. The typical author belonged to the urban middle classes. More interesting perhaps is the increasing differentiation of the books. Specialized collections appeared for particular ingredients: bananas, callalu, pimento, cheese, peas, rice, and rum. Ganja was not among these, though it was the subject of at least one cookbook produced in the United Kingdom (Eric 1995). The items published in Jamaica included guides for vegetarians (Mahabee & Milton 1987), disaster preparedness (Leslie 1990; Thompson 1990), and nutrition (Leslie 1991). Books referring in their titles to tradition and nostalgia included *Jamaican Cookery: Recipes from Old Jamaican Grandmothers* (Spence 1981), *Restaurants of Jamaica 1983-84, Featuring Traditional Jamaican Recipes* (1983), *Traditional Jamaican Cookery* (Benghiat 1985), *A Taste of the Old Home Place* (Cuff 1989), *The Jamaican Chef: Over a Century of Traditional Jamaican Dishes* (Murray & Lewin 1990), and *Busha Browne's Indispensable Compendium of Traditional Jamaican Cookery* (1993). This appeal to the past went together with arguments that "traditional" methods and tastes deserved special attention and preservation.

The cookbooks published in Jamaica after 1970 regularly included "Jamaica" or "Jamaican" in their titles (42 percent) but rarely made the wider Caribbean a reference point. Most of the latter had originally been published in metropolitan centers. Exceptions were *Caribbean Style Eating for Disaster Conditions* (Thompson 1990) and *Caribbean Cooking and Menus* (Miller 1982). The latter, however, provided almost the entire text of *Creative Jamaican Cooking and Menus* (Miller & Henry 1989) and in turn of *Creative Bahamian Cooking and Menus* (Miller & Henry 1991). These three books shared Forewords, except for variation in the second paragraph as follows:

The recipes in the book reflect to a large extent the cultural heritage of the people in the Caribbean: thus you will find recipes that reflect the Indian, African, European and both North and Latin American aspects of its culinary character. But each of the dishes has been adapted to make use of the food we grow, such as ackee, plantain, coconut, paw-paw, mango, cassava and many others, which are considered exotic in other parts of the world. (*Caribbean Cooking & Menus* 1982:foreword)

The recipes in the book reflect to a large extent the cultural heritage of the people of Jamaica: thus you will find recipes that reflect the Indian, African, European and both North and Latin American aspects of its culinary character following the Jamaican motto "Out of Many One People." Many of the dishes have been adapted to make use of the food we grow, such as ackee, plantain, coconut, paw-paw, mango, cassava and many others, which are considered exotic in other parts of the world. (*Creative Jamaican Cooking and Menus* 1989:foreword)

The recipes in the book reflect to a large extent the cultural heritage of the people of the Bahamas: thus you will find many of the dishes use the food we grow, such as peas, coconut, paw-paw, mango, okra and many others, which are considered exotic in other parts of the world. (*Creative Bahamian Cooking and Menus* 1991:foreword)

What is important about these parallel models is that by the 1970s a consensus had emerged, in which national and generalized "Caribbean" cuisine were seen to be extensively interchangeable. Each place had its particular specialities, and "national dishes" were widely recognized, but underlying the differences was a common creole Caribbean cuisine. The distinguishing feature of this cuisine was consistently identified as spice, and it was seen as the product of a blending of cuisines from other places. The model commonly adopted by West Indian cookbook-writers from about 1970 was the melting-pot, an image suggestive of pervasive creolization rather than the plural society. Caribbean cuisine was seen as a paradigm, the plate of food a microcosm of society. Some writers have termed it "creole cuisine," using "creole" to indicate mixture as well as local origin (Sookia 1994:8). The melting-pot version has appeared in so many cookbooks that it seems to have attained the status of a fixed text in the same way as the recipes became fixed in print. It took a literal form in the Belize Hospital Auxiliary's *Cook Book* of circa 1970 in which the ingredients for the national dish consisted of "1½ Caribs, 4 Creoles, 1 Mayan, 2½ Mestizas (Indian and Spanish), also other nationalities (all sizes, shapes and shades)." These were to be mixed well and baked slowly in a tropical sun, but said to "blend well when not stirred too much." Caribbean cookbooks published after 1970 consistently referred to history in advancing the melting-pot model. For example:

The history of food in Trinidad and Tobago is as exciting and as interesting as the history of the country itself. Written records are few, but customs handed down from generations to generations, principally through observation, and methods passed on by word of mouth indicate a cuisine that can truly lay claim to being well spiced with the traditions of the many races who together constitute this homogeneous society. Into the pot have gone the customs of the Caribs and Arawaks, the Spanish, the French, the English, the African, the Indian, Portuguese and the Chinese. (Hunt 1985:vii)

The foods, languages, customs and the cultural and racial mixes of the West Indian islands of the Caribbean are as varied as any on earth. The British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, Danish, Dutch, Americans, and Maltese all served as regional colonial powers. Labor was imported from Africa, China, India, and Scotland. Each nationality brought its languages, foods, religions, holidays, traditions and racial heritage to mix into "the cultural stew." The richness of this historical lineage is reflected in the spicy flavors of our island foods, the lovely smiles on our multi-hued skins, and the lilt of our various island patois. (Antilles School 1986:title page)

Caribbean cuisine is essentially the melting pot – and a tasty one at that – of Arawak, African, European, Asian and American cooking. These various culinary influences have been absorbed in a unique way over the centuries. One specific characteristic which identifies traditional Caribbean dishes is the use of fresh herbs and spices. Recipes vary from island to island, as they do from kitchen to kitchen, but seasoning is the common denominator. (Hamilton 1990:3)

Cuban food reflects the Cuban spirit: a hearty appetite for enjoying the sweetness and richness of life, and a respect for tradition coupled with adventurousness. The food also reveals the history of Cuba and the diverse groups of people who have inhabited the island. Cuban cuisine is a melting pot of ingredients and cooking techniques from around the world. (Green 1991:10)

Such appeals to history served to establish a single account of the past, in which the blending of peoples and cultures occurred in much the same way in all parts of the region. Individual, national histories (generally still attached to particular European powers) coexisted with a broader Caribbean unity of experience, expressed in cuisine and other areas of culture rather than any model of political regional nationalism. This account of the Caribbean past possessed special attractions for middle-class postcolonial migrants, and a large number of the Caribbean cookbooks published since 1970 have been written by such people, stating as their impulse a desire to retain their culture in new "multicultural" countries. Food offered oppor-

tunities for these purposes not necessarily attainable in other areas of culture and the writing of cookbooks served also to elevate the cuisine to a higher status within the host cultures.

What is in contention, then, is the extent to which "national" and "ethnic" identities can be subsumed within a broader regional, Caribbean character. In 1970, Mary Slater could write in *Caribbean Cooking for Pleasure* that the islands were diverse, with "French, Dutch, Spanish, American or British customs and Danes, Portuguese, Indians, Lebanese and Chinese, all mix and mingle with the Africans who form the bulk of the West Indian population." She concluded however that "There is no distinct trend in Caribbean cooking, many nations brought and left their customs, habits and ceremonies just as they left their regional dishes" (Slater 1970:6). This plural model seems to fit the recent cookbooks of Suriname, for example, with their differentiation by ethnicity (Starke & Samsin-Hewitt 1987). The English-speaking Caribbean has its cookbooks devoted to East Indian cuisine, derived from traditional Indian recipes though "distinctly Indo-Caribbean in flavour" (Mahabir 1992). Occasional publications emphasize the Africanness (Grant 1992; Hafner 1996) or Englishness (Mackie 1995:16) of the region's cookery. Generally, however, the emphasis has shifted to the essential oneness and uniqueness of Caribbean cuisine. Thus Carmen Aboy Valdejuli's *Puerto Rican Cookery* (1987:x) argues that common basic ingredients are at the bottom of every Caribbean pot: "Though they may be used with slight differences in the different islands, the result is that the delicate blends and innovations of five centuries have developed a genuine Caribbean cuisine." Resistance to this notion of similarity seems greatest in the Francophone Caribbean. André Nègre (1985:12), for example agreed that "La cuisine antillaise et guyanaise est le miroir de ce pays qui est une mosaïque ethnique," but went on to argue that the cuisine of these territories was very different to that of the Anglophone Caribbean. Nègre concluded:

j'affirme que l'influence de la cuisine française, la première du monde, a donné aux territoires qui en relèvent, des bases et des principes inégalables qui ont entraîné, même dans le peuple, un raffinement du goût et une sensibilité du palais qui n'ont rien à voir, Dieu merci, avec ce qui s'est passé dans les autres Antilles. (Nègre 1985:12)

Food, therefore, remains a problematic symbol of Caribbean identity. The cookbook-writers of recent times have not been completely successful in creating a single account of the Caribbean past or a single, unitary definition of Caribbean cuisine or culture. In their efforts to achieve this objective, they have however fixed Caribbean cuisine in a traditional/nos-

talig mould, locating it in times past and places lost. The cuisine commonly becomes something to be preserved rather than developed, an attitude paralleling the fixing of the social memory in the cookbook's text.

NOTE

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STUDIES ON FRENCH ANTILLEAN LITERATURE
IN GERMANY

Kolonisierung und Krankheit: Der Begriff "aliénation" in Texten aus den französischen Kleinen Antillen. HELMTRUD RUMPF. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1993. 263 pp. (Paper US\$ 46.95)

Interkulturalität in der frankophonen Literatur der Karibik: Der europäisch-afrikanisch-amerikanische Intertext im Romanwerk von Maryse Condé. UTE FENDLER. Frankfurt am Main: IKO, Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1994. vi+ 444 pp. (Paper DM 54.00)

Der Roman der französischen Antillen zwischen 1932 und heute: Eine Literatur auf dem Weg zur Autonomie. DANIELLE DUMONTET. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995. 336 pp. (Paper US\$ 52.95)

Rückbesinnung-Selbsterfahrung-Inbesitznahme: Antillanische Identität im Spannungsfeld von Négritude, Antillanité und Créolité. MARION PAUSCH. Frankfurt am Main: IKO, Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1996. 297 pp. (Paper DM 39.80)

Research on Caribbean literatures in Europe is by no means limited to former mother countries such as France, England, the Netherlands, and Spain. There is quite a lot of interest at the academic level in German-speaking universities in Austria, Switzerland and, especially, Germany. The four studies under review here, published over the last five years, testify to the rapidly increasing interest in novels of the French Antilles. All were formerly presented as Ph.D. dissertations – completed at universities in Berlin, Bayreuth, Mainz, and Frankfurt/M respectively.

Helmtrud Rumpf concentrates on the parallelism between colonization and sickness. The starting point for her analysis is March 19, 1946, when the inhabitants of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana voted in favor of the political status of French Overseas Department (Département d'Outre-Mer). Rumpf distinguishes between three periods in the literary production that followed this event: first, an assimilatory discourse; then, from the 1960s onwards, an explicit orientation toward Africa; and, since 1968, a focus on the lived history (*histoire vécue*) of the Antilles. In order to shape her analysis of a vast number of novels within a theoretical framework, thus identifying the three periods in the literary texts, Rumpf applies the concept of *aliénation*. She understands this concept as social trauma, inherited from a history in which people of African origin were merely seen as "things" or as commercial entities, implying that they were deprived of any individual recognition in written documents. Accordingly, Rumpf assumes that this tradition is still experienced as a heavy burden by contemporary writers.

From this perspective, Rumpf organizes her arguments around two levels of interpretation. At one level, the scientific paradigm serves as a springboard of information about the social reality, which, at the other level, influences and/or coincides with the poetical discourse in the fictional texts. By displaying this overlap and exchange, the author carries out with great care the "detour" (escape) from alienation. Rumpf considers this process as a constant in the writings from 1968 onward and maintains that it goes hand in hand with incorporating alternatives for authentic cultural expressions from the Caribbean.

Ute Fendler's *Interkulturalität in der frankophonen Literatur der Karibik* investigates the work of Guadeloupean writer Maryse Condé. Drawing on four of Condé's novels, *Hérémakhonon* (1976), *Une saison à Rihata* (1981), *La vie scélérate* (1987), and *Traversée de la Mangrove* (1989), she reconstructs different fields of references in the narratives after having discussed several theories about intertextuality in her introduction. This enables her to expand on her information in a broad framework of musical, literary, political, philosophical, historical, and autobiographical data. Her reading of *Hérémakhonon* (Mandinga: Waiting for Happiness), Condé's first novel, is particularly revealing. It gives valuable insights into the tremendous complexities of the world of a French educated, erudite, African-American woman, with an Antillean background, who experiences love as well as work-place conflicts in a contemporary African country.

Danielle Dumontet's *Der Roman der französischen Antillen zwischen 1932 und heute* begins with a long introduction into the history of the French Antilles, including Haiti and French Guiana. Before discussing the

French Antillean novel, she goes back to the 1930s as a starting point for the effort by writers to break through the one-sided predominance of French culture. Dumontet identifies this moment as a time when a number of important magazines were published – *Revue Indigène* (since 1927) in Haiti, *La revue du monde noir* (1931-32), *Légitime défense* (1932), and *L'Étudiant Noir* (1935) in Paris, and *Tropiques* (1941-45) in Martinique. A detailed reading of a series of novels, starting with Joseph Zobel's *Diab'la* (written 1942, published 1945), includes an impressive number of titles by various authors. With the example of the life stories of the main characters, Dumontet succeeds in displaying in depth cultural backgrounds of people of Asian, African, American, or European origin who are born in the Caribbean. The priority in this analysis is to connect their different projects in a shared effort for more communication.

Marion Pausch's *Rückbesinnung-Selbsterfahrung-Inbesitznahme* elaborates on the constitution of a Caribbean identity by highlighting the different concepts of Négritude, Antillanité, and Créolité in this respect. Pausch does not discuss each novel separately, but uses them as a continued resource in her search for a particularly Caribbean identity. With this in mind, various textual aspects are presented in order to reveal an increasing orientation toward the surrounding world. Pausch also includes Patrick Chamoiseau's *Texaco* (1992), winner of the Prix Goncourt and widely reviewed in France, as well as in Germany, Switzerland, the United States, and elsewhere.

It is worth emphasizing the diversity of approaches between the four studies, even though they generally deal with the same corpus of texts. Rumpf bases her theoretical constructions on the consequences of and resistance against negative experiences from the past; Fendler deals with very detailed information, especially about African, Caribbean, and American history; Dumontet highlights the relationship with France; and Pausch conceptualizes the tendency toward a growing Caribbean sensitivity, in order to overcome the sensation of individual and regional fragmentation. In spite of the differences in approach, these four scholars agree upon the relevance of the dialogue with Creole languages and their modes of expression. All studies consider their daily use, religious orientation, historical insights, dreams, policies, or gender relations as increasingly fundamental for the understanding of Antillean literary voices. In this regard, Édouard Glissant, whose *Discours antillais* (1981) set the parameters for the emphasis on cultural differentiation and diglossia, is quoted repeatedly.

It would be interesting to investigate how recent research on Dutch Antillean literatures deals with this Creole diversity in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, islands with a similar political status and severe

language problems in the educational system. Without doubt, the reading of these well-documented narrative debates on the modernization processes in the French Overseas Departments sometimes creates a feeling of frustration. The outburst of creative energy in these novels often seems to end up in alienation, madness, regionality, or a movement back to a (utopian) past. However, through the interpretations it also becomes clear that this typical parameter produced by a literary paranoia belongs to a more and more distant past. This shows the relevance of these scholarly contributions for the literature of the French Antilles. Besides the Ur-father Aimé Césaire, Maryse Condé and Édouard Glissant are the most consistent producers of new novels, whereas Mayotte Capécia, Joseph Zobel, Michèle Lacroisil, Myriam Warner-Vieyra, Simone Schwarz-Bart, Daniel Maximin, Raphaël Confiant (who first wrote in Creole), Vincent Placol, and Patrick Chamoiseau among others already belong to the classics. They display their strong commitment to modeling "interpretations of their own" on the richness of cultural perceptions and history in their native countries.

This productive output of research on the French Antilles testifies that the times of Janheinz Jahn as the only German who writes on the African heritage in Latin America and the Caribbean are over. The bibliographies of these volumes are full of references to German scholars, such as Wolfgang Bader, Wolfgang Binder, Frauke Gewecke, or Claudius Armbruster. Besides, because of the emphasis on Creole cultures and languages, the publications of Ulrich Fleischmann become utterly relevant. In Germany Fleischmann has the longest record in publishing about language problems in literature and in the educational system of the French-speaking Caribbean, including Haiti. Fleischmann's orientation might be due to the strong linguistic component in romance language studies in that country. His research shows that in combination with ethnological and literary studies such approaches lead to innovative contributions to the description of the cultural map of this area, very much in demand at this particular moment.

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THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF BIOMEDICINE IN THE
CARIBBEAN

Healing the Masses: Cuban Health Politics at Home and Abroad. JULIE M. FEINSILVER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. xx + 307 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00, Paper US\$ 17.00)

The Blessings of Motherhood: Health, Pregnancy and Child Care in Dominica. ANJA KRUMEICH. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1994. iii + 278 pp. (Paper NLG 47.50)

Disability and Rehabilitation in Rural Jamaica: An Ethnographic Study. RONNIE LINDA LEAVITT. Rutherford NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1992. 249 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.50)

Based on research in three Caribbean societies, these books explore the contours of biomedicine ("Western" or scientific medicine) as a cultural system and an instrument of state power. On a theoretical level, the authors take up the blurred boundaries between Western biomedicine and other forms of healing as well as the political meanings and contradictions hidden behind everyday clinical routines. Their particular research projects, however, ask what has happened to the dream of universally accessible medical care in the past twenty years in the Caribbean region. The books focus on a community-based pediatric disability program in Jamaica (Leavitt), maternal and child health care in Dominica (Krumeich), and Cuba's national project of medical modernization (Feinsilver). Specific diseases or clinical outcomes are less at issue than the cultural and political dimensions of planned health development and the social transformations it sets into motion on both local and national levels.

Health development in the Caribbean involves massive flows of expert knowledge and material resources across regional and national boundaries. The authors must decide where to enter the webs of influence which connect elite health bureaucrats to ordinary patients receiving services in peripheral communities. Krumeich and Leavitt examine these connections on the intimate symbolic register where people negotiate between biomedicine and local healing practices and accounts of affliction. Feinsilver analyzes the political interest animating the provision of biomedical services at the national level. Moreover, the three authors adopt different disciplinary and personal voices. To write as a practicing clinician (Leavitt) rather than a non-clinician, as a woman faced with pressing child care duties (Krumeich) rather than a sympathetic outsider, or as a progressive political scientist (Feinsilver) rather than an ethnographer – such choices profoundly affect how these authors gauge the cultural politics of biomedicine.

Leavitt and Krumeich analyze projects inspired by the Primary Health Care (PHC) movement, the international health trend that advocates universally accessible essential medical services at low cost, is oriented toward prevention, and favors “culturally appropriate” treatment – that is, treatment calibrated to local health beliefs and grass-roots participation. The PHC movement began twenty years ago with an emancipatory and Utopian phase which envisioned local self-reliance and community participation as strategies to overcome colonial dependency. The 1980s saw a shift to disease-specific technologies and away from idealistic calls for empowerment (see Coreil & Mull 1990). How one judges particular projects thus depends on which version of PHC one favors – emancipatory or technocratic. In *Disability and Rehabilitation in Rural Jamaica* which favors a minimal technocratic version, Leavitt describes a single community-based rehabilitation project and inquires how First World principles of care can best be transferred to this context.

Of the three books, Ronnie Leavitt’s reads most like a PHC project document written by an anthropologically-aware consultant. Her research topic remains entirely within the agenda of this development project – in particular, its PHC-inspired goal of building upon local resources (p. 26). The project trains parents in rehabilitation activities with their children and recruits local women to become “community rehabilitation workers” (CRW’s). Leavitt therefore inquires into the cultural accounts of childhood disability and routinized responses to it in this Jamaican community: the pre-existing conceptual and social resources which the PHC project aims to complement. She asks how these enable or impede the biomedical rehabilitation services provided by this internationally-funded program.

The question goes right to the heart of PHC rhetoric about fostering self-reliance and integrating local and biomedical knowledge, and the answer requires first of all a rich ethnographic picture of Jamaican health beliefs about disability. Unfortunately, Leavitt does not adequately frame her ethnographic findings. The analysis of stigma exemplifies this problem. Leavitt found relatively little stigma attached to childhood disability, but she examines this entirely in terms of the formal rehabilitation services. We never learn what accounts for the relative absence of stigma in the first place. Do Jamaicans regard other categories of physical affliction as shameful? Why is childhood disability exempt? Leavitt offers several case studies of mothers of disabled children, but she does not interpret their ambivalent expressions of guilt (Chapter 7). She tabulates people's beliefs about the cause of disability (involving duppies and sexual transgressions, for example), but offers no comment on them. We thus never gain a full understanding of the cultural context for stigma and the moral responsibilities of parenthood. Similar problems mar her analysis of the community health worker program.

Leavitt's book will be quite helpful to health planners and evaluation specialists, but social scientists concerned with the Caribbean and/or international development may find it frustrating. Leavitt never truly brings into dialogue her clinical and anthropological expertise, and thus does not delve into the contradictions raised by PHC in this setting. On the one hand, she judges the program a success according to general PHC criteria of accessibility and community participation. On the other, she found that the treatment children received was fragmented and not particularly timely, and that it ignored the psychological and cognitive dimensions of rehabilitation. Leavitt's ambivalence raises pressing questions on clinical, anthropological, and even ethical levels about PHC services in Jamaica. Unfortunately, because of her relative disinterest in theoretical issues, readers must pursue these questions on their own.

Anja Krumeich began as a champion of emancipatory PHC in Dominica, but her research, and her book, end on a very different note. Social emancipation through PHC projects, she discovered, is in many ways an illusion. Although Dominica enjoys an extensive system of maternal and child health care, women actually disdain culturally appropriate and preventive services. Primary health care nurses regard popular health beliefs as ignorant superstition, and local gender politics render collective action among women virtually impossible. *The Blessings of Motherhood* is thus a bracing corrective to both the vague generalities offered by PHC advocates and the narrow emphasis of applied research such as Leavitt's.

Krumeich bases her argument about PHC on a rich ethnographic study of Dominican women's experiences with sexuality and child-rearing as well as collective notions of the body, affliction, and gender roles. Her detailed accounts of blood disorders, jealousy-caused illnesses, and people's joint use of biomedical, herbal, and religious healing practices make an important addition to the anthropology of the Anglophone Caribbean. Moreover, Krumeich brings the study of health and illness into the mainstream of anthropological theory. She deftly criticizes the myth of objectivity in fieldwork and shows how her status as a first-time mother (albeit white and non-Dominican) gave her a deeper appreciation of the dilemmas faced by the women she knew. Her book gauges the emotional and economic significance of local health care beliefs, and hence the reasons why women do not relinquish them in the face of biomedicine.

Krumeich pinpoints several relevant features of Dominican women's identity and social role. Having numerous strong and healthy babies validates women's status as successful wives and mothers. They therefore take great pride in being the guardians of their children's well-being, and a broad knowledge of nutrition and effective therapies testifies to their mothering skills. Anything that threatens their children's health undercuts their moral prestige and sense of self-worth. Unfortunately, the dominant gender code and the structural subordination of women make both real and symbolic threats to children's health all too common (pp. 185ff). Negative emotions such as fear and anger purportedly damage their unborn children, so women adopt a calm and stoic acceptance of frustrating or abusive domestic situations. Moreover, because the code of masculinity emphasizes fathering children but not necessarily supporting them, there is keen competition among women for husbands and providers. Women regard each other with suspicion and jealousy, and such emotions fuel accusations of pathogenic attacks on their children. This gender system thus militates against women taking collective action to address the structural causes of poor maternal and child health.

Out of this rich ethnographic portrait emerges Krumeich's critique of PHC services in Dominica. Women eagerly accept curative biomedical services for their children, especially diagnostic tests. This apparent PHC success story, however, owes far more to women's own motivations than to the skills of health planners or nurses. Dominican women feel solely responsible for their children's health, and they therefore attempt to master a broad range of therapeutic skills. They flexibly incorporate particular aspects of biomedical care into their everyday curative practice (which also includes herbal and religious healing) (p. 167). They thus effortlessly fulfill the original PHC policy of integrating local and biomedical expertise.

In other respects, however, they disregard advice that would undermine their status as responsible mothers and skilled guardians of their family's health. For example, having a child immunized testifies to one's maternal concern, but what confident mother would accept nutrition lessons – especially from a young and inexperienced nurse – if they contradicted what she already knew and by implication portrayed her as ignorant?

In an ironic twist, therefore, Dominican women largely reject preventive services, the centerpiece of PHC programs, and instead seek out the most sophisticated technological interventions available. Because of the importance placed on confident and resourceful mothering, women look to biomedical services to provide precisely what they do not have – that is, high-tech curative interventions. Hence, the idealistic goal of providing appropriate technologies and preventive services actually undercuts the desired authority of biomedicine. Women neither want nor need a PHC system that integrates biomedical and local expertise. Moreover, dispensary nurses' denigration of women's traditional healing expertise (bush teas, resource to *obeah*, etc.) and their ignorance of the economic constraints of women's lives further subvert the goal of integrating popular and biomedical treatments. Finally, the pervasive mistrust between women prevents them from mobilizing around health issues in pursuit of community empowerment.

Krumeich provocatively suggests abandoning the agenda of integration, low-cost preventive services, and community participation in favor of the more modest goal of one-to-one clinical dialogues between equals. Simply giving women more therapeutic alternatives and not recommending practices which denigrate their skills as mothers or are economically unfeasible constitute the appropriate goals of PHC in Dominica. Krumeich's book is thus an honest appraisal of the gap between PHC rhetoric and the health culture in a rural Caribbean community. By locating herself squarely on the receiving end of biomedical services, she shows the power of ethnographic research to address major questions in international health policy.

Julie Feinsilver's *Healing the Masses* moves the debate about biomedicine in Caribbean societies to the level of geopolitics and national ideology. It argues that the impressive gains in public health made since the Cuban revolution are inseparable from the government's efforts to gain legitimacy in the eyes of its own people and the international community. Fidel Castro has tried to re-make Cuba into a "world medical power" via massive state investment in sophisticated curative care, and this effort provides a fascinating counterpoint to the PHC paradigm. In Cuba, the health care system is a lever for radical social transformation,

one of the original goals of emancipatory PHC. However, the particular strategies used by the Cuban regime are either not available or unpalatable to most international health planners, and this illuminates the dependence of biomedicine throughout the Caribbean on state-level struggles for power and authority.

Feinsilver's landmark book explores how the Cuban state uses biomedicine (including the biotechnology industry and medical aid to Third World countries) for its own symbolic and political advantage. To ensure its own credibility, the Cuban state continually revitalizes its revolutionary origins and emphasizes the relevance of socialist ideals to everyday life. The medical system helps legitimate the government because Castro has made health the central metaphor for Cuba's anti-imperialist struggle. The state-controlled schools, mass media, and medical establishment all interpret disease as a legacy of imperialist underdevelopment and health indicators as a measure of the success of the revolution. Medical advances symbolically repudiate the American criticism of Castro's leadership (p. 49), illustrate the humanitarian nature of the socialist state, and thereby legitimate the Castro government.

Cuba's medical diplomacy and investment in biotechnology generate symbolic capital: intangible qualities (like honor, prestige, and reputation) which appear opposed to strictly economic interests, but which are in fact convertible back into material capital. The export of skilled health workers throughout the Third World generates solidarity and lessens the country's international isolation, but also facilitates new trade relationships. Similarly, the biotechnology industry testifies to Cuba's accomplishments in a complex scientific arena (p.122), and the government uses this prestige as a lure for investments from other countries and international agencies.

These health politics show the contrast between the Cuban health care system and most PHC programs. Echoing PHC rhetoric, Cuba considers universally accessible health care as a fundamental right, but here this reflects specifically socialist goals. "Equal access" in Cuba intends to further the general homogenization of social classes. "Popular participation" means mass mobilization and membership in state-sanctioned organizations with an explicitly revolutionary agenda. Moreover, Cuba's commitment to provide sophisticated physician-based services is frankly opposed to PHC ideals. The Cuban policy explicitly asserts that under socialism, Third World nations can achieve a fully modernized health care system and need not settle for small-scale technologies or low-paid para-professionals like China's barefoot doctors. For these reasons, Cuba's health care system is simply unsuitable to many underdeveloped nations

which do not share its revolutionary ideology or ability to mobilize vast economic and human resources.

Feinsilver criticizes the Cuban biomedical system because the symbolic gains from dramatic high-tech biomedicine occasionally overshadow the population's genuine health needs. However, she rarely addresses issues which might more seriously indict the Cuban state, such as the system's dependence on Soviet aid, the networks of surveillance implicit in Cuban biomedicine, and the human rights problems posed by the AIDS quarantine policy. These are serious omissions, and they probably arise from Feinsilver's own evident admiration for Cuba's medical achievements as well as the government's resistance to granting her access to people or data (p. xviii).

Nonetheless, Feinsilver's book nicely complements the studies of PHC in Jamaica and Dominica. Do biomedical services in this region act as a modernizing vanguard which undercuts local therapies and conceptions of illness and suffering? Probably not, if the program follows the standard PHC format, but the answer might differ when health services have the massive ideological weight they do in Cuba, and the issue awaits detailed ethnographic research. What is the national and geopolitical significance of the PHC programs described by Leavitt and Krumeich? Regardless of their clinical goals or village level effects, why did the governments of Jamaica and Dominica support these projects in the first place? The reasons will surely affect the programs' local realization and ultimate success, as illustrated in the Dominican Republic (Whiteford 1990) and elsewhere in Latin America (see Morgan 1993). Anthropologists of health development in the Caribbean must follow Feinsilver and seek out the broad political interests which underlie specific programs even (or especially) when these lie hidden beneath technical jargon or humanitarian rhetoric.

These questions suggest that we analyze biomedicine in the Caribbean explicitly as a cosmopolitan institution. When introduced into a rural or poor community, medical services inaugurate people into certain perspectives, states of mind, or ways of managing meaning with geographically distant origins (Hannerz 1996:102). In this setting, to become fluent in the language of microbes or hemiplegia is to achieve some competence in a foreign culture. People thus partially detach themselves from local contexts of meaning when they accept biomedical treatments. For a short time, they enter the life-world of biomedicine, but this is a complicated and overdetermined zone in itself. First of all, biomedicine often remains insulated from local practices, and its cultural scaffolding is largely an extension of Western Europe and North America (Hannerz:107). Bio-

medical services in the Caribbean thus resemble other formal institutions and ideologies, such as schools or churches, in which people must negotiate the discourse and social norms of imperialist powers. Biomedicine is cosmopolitan in a second sense because it draws its legitimacy from the natural science paradigm. Because of its standardized jargon and procedures, biomedicine is a deterritorialized global institution, not just a reminder of one particular dominant culture. People thus interweave strictly biological explanations for affliction into local cosmologies and systems of therapy. In this way, biomedicine enters the dialectic between cosmopolitan scepticism and localized domains of meaning which pervades Caribbean cultural expressions.

However, the cosmopolitanism of biomedicine has its limits. There exist local worlds of medicine overlaid by global standards and technologies (Good 1995). Moreover, professionals from poor countries are more removed from the homogenizing circuit of international conferences, workshops, and journals, and they may even explicitly seek to tailor First World norms to local realities (e.g., Bordes 1979). Thus a patient seeking biomedical services in Haiti, for example, participates in four "health cultures" at once: globalized scientific biomedicine, its historical form in the colonial power (recognizably French medicine), the specifically Haitian variant, and of course the syncretic set of popular health practices which grow out of much older European, African, and Amerindian traditions. The relative importance of each health culture will differ according to the particular society, but the overall research agenda is the same. The study of biomedicine in the Caribbean must examine how biomedicine is appropriated regionally and locally, how it co-exists with non-biomedical healing forms, and how in this process the boundaries between local and global forms are redrawn.

Biomedicine in the Caribbean thus straddles national and regional boundaries and creates a new landscape of persons who participate in cosmopolitan systems of signs and practices without necessarily leaving home. This recalls the general articulation of Caribbean societies with global networks of power and ideology (Trouillot 1992), although biomedicine is unique in two respects. The rhetoric of scientific objectivity is seductive, and it demands critical and ethnographic attention in its own right. (The alternative is narrow technical studies which miss how people actually engage with biomedical services.) Moreover, because of its relevance to notions of morality, the body, and suffering, biomedicine exerts a more direct effect on subjectivity and consciousness than the political and economic factors more often at the center of global/local analyses. Biomedicine introduces new possibilities for crafting a self-image in the

present or imagining alternative futures, as both Feinsilver and Krumeich acknowledge. Framing biomedicine as a cosmopolitan institution pushes their approach even further. What idioms of illness and the body are introduced by popular media or returning immigrants? How do people negotiate between the several available versions of local and global knowledge, given the imagined life-possibilities that circulate at large? How are these meanings elaborated by people differently positioned by class, color, gender, or age, and with what effects on the immediate cultural setting? Such are the questions that emerge by setting these provocative books in dialogue with each other.

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RICHARD PRICE & SALLY PRICE

BOOKSHELF 1997

Once again it is our sad duty to announce the annual Caribbeanist Hall of Shame. As always, we list those books that, as of press time (January 1998), have not been reviewed because the scholars who agreed to the task have – despite reminder letters – neither provided a text nor relinquished the books so that they could be assigned to someone else. (Continuing the practice initiated in 1997, we indicate names with both initial and final letters, in an attempt to forestall false accusations and protect the reputations of the innocent.) And as in past years, we hope these paragraphs may serve as a kind of backlist “books received.” We are pleased to report that this year’s list is significantly briefer than in the past. And we join our readers in expressing heartfelt thanks to all those scholars who did take the time to prepare reviews and share their assessments with us.

Two planned review articles on literary criticism have failed to materialize. S—n G—i did not submit his reflections on *The Fiction of Paule Marshall: Reconstructions of History, Culture, and Gender* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995, paper US\$ 15.00), by Dorothy Hamer Denniston, *Toward Wholeness in Paule Marshall’s Fiction* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995, cloth US\$ 29.50), by Joyce Pettis, and *Black and Female: Essays on Writings by Black Women in the Diaspora* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994, paper n.p.), by Brita Lindberg-Seyersted. Nor did S—a L. R—s come through with hers on *Derek Walcott and West Indian Drama: ‘Not Only a Playwright But a Company’*, *The Trinidad Theatre Workshop 1959-1993* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, cloth US\$ 39.95), by Bruce King, and *The Cambridge Guide to African & Caribbean Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, cloth £54.95), by Martin Banham, Errol Hill & George Woodyard. And P—p H—d has never submitted his promised

double review of *The Problem of Democracy in Cuba* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 48.00), by Carolee Bengelsdorf, and *Cuba and the Future* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1994, cloth US\$ 55.00), edited by Donald E. Schulz.

A number of individual book reviews, long outstanding, have not been submitted. (As always, we would be pleased to publish them even if tardily.) We simply list them here. *Wolves from the Sea: Readings in the Anthropology of the Native Caribbean* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995, paper NLG 35.00), edited by Neil L. Whitehead [W—m C. S—t]; *Caribbean Language Issues Old & New: Papers in Honour of Professor Mervyn Alleyne on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Kingston: The Press-University of the West Indies, 1996, paper J\$ 475.00, US\$ 12.95), edited by Pauline Christie [W—r E—s]; *A Grammar of Berbice Dutch Creole* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994, cloth DM 318), by Silvia Kouwenberg [I—n R—n]; *Consequences of Structural Adjustment: A Review of the Jamaican Experience* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1994, paper J\$ 300.00, US\$ 10.50), edited by Elsie Le Franc [D—h G—t-W—m]; *The Caribbean Legion: Patriots, Politicians, Soldiers of Fortune, 1946-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 35.00, paper US\$ 15.95), by Charles D. Ameringer [F—y A. B—e]; *The Black Power Revolution 1970: A Retrospective* (Kingston: The Press-University of the West Indies, 1995, paper J\$ 800.00), edited by Selwyn Ryan & Taimoon Stewart [H—n B—t]; *Soviet-Cuban Alliance: 1959-1991* (Coral Gables FL: North-South Center, University of Miami, 1996, paper US\$ 22.95), by Yuri Pavlov [C—s R—o]; *Afro-Cuban Religious Experience: Cultural Reflections in Narrative* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996, cloth US\$ 49.95), by Eugenio Matibag [G—e B—n]; *Geschiedenis van Suriname* (Utrecht: Spectrum, paper NLG 39:90), by Hans Buddingh' [M. S—k]; *Suriname in het jaar 2000* (Baarn: Bosch & Keuning, 1994, cloth n.p.), edited by A.J. Brahim, G.A. de Bruijne, R.A.I. van Frederikslust & R.A. Schermel [H—s B—a]; *Nieuw Amsterdam in Berbice (Guyana): De planning en bouw van een koloniale stad, 1764-1800* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994, paper NLG 25.00), by L. Bosman [A—d de B—e]; *Socialist Ensembles: Theater and State in Cuba and Nicaragua* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994, paper US\$ 19.95), by Randy Martin [A—h D—i]; *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 39.95, paper US\$ 17.50), by Irma Watkins-Owens [C—n P—r]; and *Haiti in the New World Order: The Limits of the Democratic Revolution* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1997, paper US\$ 17.95), by Alex Dupuy [M—l-R—h T—t].

We turn now to publications which, for a variety of other reasons, are not being given full reviews in the journal. First, literature (including, of course, only those volumes that have been sent to the journal by their publishers). *The Routledge Reader in Caribbean Literature* (London: Routledge, 1996, paper US\$ 22.95), edited by Alison Donnell & Sarah Lawson Welsh, samples a wide range of Anglophone Caribbean poetry, fiction, and criticism from 1900 to the present, provides critically self-conscious introductions to the materials, and, despite its 540 pages, whets the appetite for more. Heinemann's Caribbean Writers Series has brought out four new novels. The first two are by veterans of the genre: Zee Edgell's *The Festival of San Joaquin* (1997, paper US\$ 13.95), a bitter-sweet first-person narrative of domestic violence and hope among the mestizos of Belize's Cayo District, and Michael Anthony's *In the Heat of the Day* (1996, paper US\$ 11.95), an action-packed vernacular tale set in 1903 Port of Spain that builds toward a fiery colonial confrontation. *It Begins with Tears* (1997, paper US\$ 13.95), by experienced short-story writer Opal Palmer Adisa, delves deep into Jamaican village life, language, and lore, and *The Autobiography of Paras P.* (1996, paper US\$ 10.95), by journalist Kevin Baldeosingh, takes a madcap satirical spin through modern Trinidad.

In *My Brother* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997, cloth US\$ 19.00), Jamaica Kincaid has produced a perfectly controlled, biting but moving meditation on her brother's death from AIDS in Antigua. Her earlier *The Autobiography of My Mother* forms an intermittent backdrop and there are echoes as well of *A Small Place*: "We walked up a road, past a monument to commemorate a slave who had led a revolt. The monument was surrounded by a steel fence and the gate was locked." We note the paperback reissue of three works of fiction: Richard and Sally Price's 1995 mystery about art and authenticity in the Guianas, *Enigma Variations* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1997, US\$ 12.95), Phyllis Shand Allfrey's 1954 tale of Dominica, *The Orchid House* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996, US\$ 16.95), with a historicizing introduction by Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, and Roy Heath's 1982 comic novel about rural Guyana, *Kwaku, or the Man Who Could Not Keep His Mouth Shut* (London: Marion Boyars, 1997, US\$ 14.95). Heath's latest, *The Ministry of Hope* (London: Marion Boyars, 1997, cloth US\$ 24.95), describes the further misadventures of Kwaku, as he migrates from the country to get rich selling antique chamberpots to British tourists in Georgetown.

Drown, by Junot Díaz (New York: Riverhead Books, 1996, paper US\$ 12.00), is an electrifying first collection of stories that roam from the rural

D.R. to the faceless Jersey urbs – this man can write! *Vínculos: La rueda más hermosa: Crónica de dos familias dominicanas en los albores del siglo veinte* (Amsterdam: First Hand Publications, 1997, paper n.p.), by Ligia Espinal Mota, is a series of tender remembrances of her native country, snap-shots in images and prose (sometimes with recipes), often through the words of her great-aunts. Jack Agüeros's *Dominoes and Other Stories from the Puerto Rican* (Willimantic CT: Curbstone Press, 1993, cloth US\$ 14.95) serves up miniatures of daily life in El Barrio.

Conversations with Derek Walcott, edited by William Baer (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1996, paper US\$ 16.95), is an outstanding collection of previously published interviews, with a wide range of interlocutors, between 1966 and 1993. *New National and Post-Colonial Literatures: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 72.00), edited by Bruce King, brings together sophisticated writing on issues of theory but restricts itself to the Anglophone world. *Presencia criolla en el Caribe y América Latina* (Frankfurt: Vervuert, 1997, paper n.p.), edited by Ineke Phaf, includes a face-to-face discussion of the poetics of creolization – which ends up as something of a *dialogue des sourds* – between Kamau Brathwaite and Édouard Glissant and a talk by Astrid Roemer (both in English), as well as some critical pieces in Spanish on Caribbean literatures. We note the publication of two first books of poetry by young St. Martin women: *The Rainy Season* (St. Martin: House of Nehesi, 1997, paper n.p.), by Drisana Deborah Jack, and *Tales from the Great Salt Pond* (St. Martin: House of Nehesi, 1996, paper US\$ 10.00), by Esther Gumbs. *Wings of Truth* (Breda: Stichting Artimo, 1996: paper n.p.) presents a selection of Giolina Molina's poems and paintings, on the occasion of an exhibition in her native Aruba.

The literary productivity of the Francophone Antilles continues to astound, and is increasingly finding English-language publishers. We now have a careful translation by Betsy Wing of one of Édouard Glissant's foundational texts, *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, paper US\$ 15.95). Too much ink has been spilled by the likes of Walcott and Updike for us to more than acknowledge the triumphant American appearance of Patrick Chamoiseau's *Texaco* (New York: Pantheon, 1997, cloth US\$ 27.00), in the heroic if necessarily flawed translation by Rose-Myriam Réjouis and Val Vinokurov. *School Days* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, paper US\$ 13.00) is a lively translation of Chamoiseau's *Chemin-d'école*, financially underwritten by the French Ministry of Culture. (In her glossary, translator Linda Coverdale claims that "békés formed a powerful, endogamous elite, and until very recently they kept their social distance from nonwhites" – but if *békés* have

suddenly chosen to get down with the hoi polloi, it's news to us.) *The Last of the African Kings* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 35.00, paper US\$ 12.00), by Maryse Condé, winner of the 1977 Prix Carbet du Caraïbe, is Richard Philcox's fine translation of *Les derniers rois mages*, a haunting evocation of Béhanzin's exile, his final days in Martinique and Algeria, and the interplay of memory and history in the Antilles and South Carolina. Africans, African Americans, and Antilleans all pass under Condé's satirical gaze, as she draws on her own life experience to depict border-crossing and *errance* with a finesse (and biting humor) absent from other recent Francophone Antillean work. *Refusal of the Shadow: Surrealism and the Caribbean* (London: Verso, 1996, paper US\$ 20.00), edited by Michael Richardson, presents in English translation a large number of relevant texts by and about French Antilleans and Haitians (including contributions by René Menil, Aimé and Suzanne Césaire, André Breton, André Masson, Michel Leiris, Pierre Mabilie, and others), from the days of *Légitime défense* and *Tropiques* to the 1980s.

After considerable delay, apparently caused by rewriting and recasting, Patrick Chamoiseau has published *Écrire en pays dominé* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997, paper 130 FF), which makes us wonder whether "L'Oiseau de Cham qui chante en Ville" (a Glissant dedication to his main man) ought now be dubbed "Le Léon de Cham [the cham-eleon] qui chante le Tout-Monde." It seems that the *petit négroillon* who, according to Chamoiseau's *Antan d'enfance* and *Chemin d'école*, spent his boyhood ripping off cockroach wings and torturing rats has miraculously chameleoned into a child who instead spent his time poring over the works of Neruda, Faulkner, Carpentier and a slew of others from Glissant's list of favorites. Just as modernizing Martinique struggles to open up to Europe and the rest of the Caribbean, Chamoiseau redefines himself here, stepping into the vanguard, right behind his *tout-monde* mentor.

We have received two new books by Raphaël Confiant: a murder mystery called *Le meurtre du Samedi-Gloria* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1997, paper 120 FF) and a miniature satire of Martiniquan modernity with a eulogistic afterword by Chamoiseau, entitled *La baignoire de Joséphine* (Paris: Mille et Une Nuits, 1997, paper 10 FF). If you've never read a Confiant novel, the mystery might be a good place to start. But for those who have already dipped into his oeuvre, it is almost as if the imaginary world of Confiant were imploding upon itself, with all the themes and carnivalesque wordplay of his previous work and all the endangered species of Martinique (the strong-men, the whores, the dockers, the cockfighters) packed in once again, making it hard not to read this text as self-parody.

In French Guiana, a new publisher has appeared on the scene – Ibis Rouge Editions, located in Kourou. Among its literary publications are four books of poetry: Pierre-Marie Niaussat's *Au fil du vent, au fil du Temps, au fil des jours* (1996, paper 99 FF), Assunta Renau Ferrer's *Mon coeur est une mangrove* (1996, paper 89 FF), and two by Elie Stéphenson, *Paysages négro-indiens* (1997, paper 49 FF) and *La conscience du feu* (1996, paper 99 FF). Ibis Rouge has also brought out two books of drama, Elie Stéphenson's bilingual Creole/French *La nouvelle légende de D'Chimbo suivi de Massak* (1996, paper 135 FF) and Georges Mauvois's *Don Jan* (1996, paper 89 FF), a Creole adaptation of Molière's play, as well as a serious first novel by Lyne-Marie Stanley, *La saison des abattis* (1996, paper 135 FF) and a light memoir, *Mission policière en Guyane* (1997, paper 145 FF), by a retired French police inspector.

Astrid H. Roemer's latest novel, *Lijken op liefde* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1997, paper NLG 29.90), a meditation on guilt and death, unfolds against the backdrop of a fin-de-siècle trial-of-the-century in which Suriname's military finally answers for the *decembermoorden*. The Belgian journal *Kruispunt: Literair Kwartaalschrift* has produced an unusually rich (if quirky) Netherlands Antilles-Suriname issue (no. 161, 1995), based on a 1993 multidisciplinary conference in northern France.

We list a number of miscellaneous social science publications, several of which were returned to us by reviewers who apparently had second thoughts. "Ay BoBo": *Afro-karibische Religionen/African-Caribbean Religions* (Vienna: WUV Universitätsverlag, 1996, 3 vols., paper DM 43, DM 40, DM 46), edited by Manfred Kremser, presents the proceedings of a 1990 conference, grouping thirty uneven papers in volumes labeled "Kulte/Cults," "Voodoo," and "Rastafari." *Between Melting Pot and Mosaic: African Americans and Puerto Ricans in the New York Political Economy* (Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 1995, paper US\$ 19.95), by Andres Torres, explores the interconnected dynamics of race and class viewed through the New York City labor market. *Caricom Integration: Progress and Hurdles – A European View* (Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1996, paper US\$ 22.95) is the revised dissertation of Christoph Müllerleile, former Regional Observer of the International Institute of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. *Globalization, Communications, and Caribbean Identity* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995, cloth US\$ 49.95), edited by Hopeton S. Dunn, includes varied papers on, among other topics, the impact of U.S. and other externally-produced TV programs on Caribbean peoples. *Guyana: Democracy Betrayed* (Kingston: Kingston Publishers, 1996, paper US\$ 19.95) by Jai Narine Singh, chronicles Guyana's struggle for independence and its postcolonial malaise, as

viewed by a politician who was in the front lines. *Africans on African-Americans: The Creation and Uses of an African-American Myth* (London: Macmillan, 1997, cloth £42.50), by Yekutieli Gershoni, an Israeli historian, investigates the "myths" he believes Africans in various parts of the continent hold about African Americans in the United States. *Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by Jan Joost Teunissen (The Hague: Fondad, 1995, paper NLG 37.75) publishes the proceedings of a 1995 conference dealing largely with financial issues. *Voluntad de nación: Ensayos sobre el nacionalismo en Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Ediciones Nueva Aurora, 1996, paper n.p.), by Juan Manuel Carrión, gathers together some of the author's previously-published essays. *Urbanización y municipio en Santo Domingo* (Santo Domingo: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo, 1996, paper n.p.), by César Pérez, is a sociohistorical analysis of the role of municipalities in Dominican urbanization. *De symbiose-economie van Curaçao: Analyse van een eilandelijke mini-economie* (Berlicum: Stichting ABC Advies, 1996, paper n.p.), by P.A.M. Smits, former director of the Department of Trade, Industry, and Employment, offers a brief overview of Curaçao's economy. *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy: The Transformation of Social Life* (London: Zed Books, 1997, cloth US\$ 55.00, paper US\$ 19.95), edited by Michael Kaufman & Haroldo Dilla Alfonso, is a serious collection that includes chapters on Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. The oversized, attractive *National Symbols of St. Martin, A Primer* (St. Martin: House of Nehesi, 1996, US\$ 30.00), edited by Lasana M. Sekou, replete with flag, motto, national dishes, birds, and trees, carries forward the nationalist – down with "Dutch" and "French" halves! – agenda begun in *The Independence Papers: Readings on a New Political Status for St. Maarten / St. Martin, Volume 1* (St. Maarten: House of Nehesi, 1990, paper n.p.), edited by Lasana M. Sekou, Oswald Francis & Napolina Gumbs.

Francophonie: Mythes, masques et réalités. Enjeux politiques et culturels (Paris: Publisud, 1996, paper 228 FF), edited by B. Jones, A. Miguet & P. Corcoran, is the most important, historicizing statement we have read about that increasingly influential, enormously self-contradictory (if seemingly transparent) concept that Derek Walcott has dubbed "Francophony." In *1946-1996: Cinquante ans de départementalisation outre-mer* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997, paper n.p.), Fred Constant and Justin Daniel have produced an important volume that gathers together a number of insightful, if uneven, studies, contrasting with so much that is produced in the French Antilles by their constructively critical (as opposed to blindly celebratory) gaze. In contrast, *Les départements d'outre-mer: L'Autre*

colonisation (Paris: Découvertes Gallimard, 1996, paper n.p.), by Robert Deville & Nicolas Georges, presents, from a relentlessly French perspective, an upbeat guide to empire and its aftermath. *L'identité guyanaise en question: Les dynamiques interculturelles en Guyane française* (Kourou: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1997, paper 145 FF), edited by Serge Mam-Lam-Fouk, publishes the proceedings of yet another dreary colloquium on the question of Guyanese identity, this one from 1995. In *Histoire générale de la Guyane française des débuts de la colonisation à l'aube de l'an 2000* (Kourou: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1996, paper 165 FF), Serge Mam-Lam-Fouk offers a synthetic, largely uncritical history of Guyane, yet perhaps the best we have to date. Armand Nicolas's *Histoire de la Martinique* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996, 2 vols., paper 190 FF, 140 FF), winner of the 1997 Prix Frantz Fanon, provides a Marxist account aimed at the general reader; the author led the two-decade-long successful battle to have May 22 declared a national holiday on the island, commemorating the day in 1848 when Martinique's slaves rose up for freedom. *Cahier de marronnage du Moule (1845-1848)* (Basse-Terre: Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe, 1996, paper 120 FF), with a useful introduction by Jacques Adelaïde-Merlande, publishes a unique archival document that includes 119 separate attestations of slaves (or groups of slaves) who marooned, in the single commune of Moule, during the three final years of Guadeloupean slavery. *L'archéologie à la Martinique: 60 années de passion et de recherche* (Fort-de-France: Musée Départementale d'Archéologie, 1997, paper n.p.), edited by Cécile Celma, is an exhibition catalogue that nicely reviews the pre-Columbian and historical archaeology on the island, but inexplicably neglects reference to the important work of Suzannah England. *Musiques et danses créoles au tambour de la Guyane française* (Kourou: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1996, paper 195 FF), by Monique Blérald-Ndagano, records – in words, musical transcription, and color photos – the repertoire of one of Guyane's "traditional" Creole music groups. In *Les Hmong de Guyane et "leurs" nouvel an* (Kourou: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1996, cloth 198 FF), Michel Marceaux offers a lightweight folkloric introduction. *Sa moun ka di: Expressions et proverbes créoles* (Kourou: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1997, paper 89 FF), by Sonia Catalan, presents a number of Guadeloupean proverbs, with French translations. Finally, we note the appearance of a new journal, *Pagara: Revue de sciences humaines du plateau des Guyanes*, whose first issue, published in Cayenne in 1996, includes several articles on Guyanais archaeology and history, a book review, and two obituaries.

On the cultural studies front, *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 48.00, paper US\$

16.95), edited by Houston A. Baker, Jr., Manthia Diawara & Ruth H. Lindeborg, is a very useful collection of influential articles. *Praten in het donker: Multiculturalisme en anti-racisme in feministisch perspectief* (Kampen: Kok Agora, 1996, paper NLG 35.00), edited by Gloria Wekker & Rosi Braidotti, includes translations of pieces by bell hooks and Stuart Hall plus original chapters on the political implications of "feminist, post-modern, and postcolonial deconstructions of subjectivity and identity." In a somewhat different register, Jürgen Osterhammel's *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 1997, cloth US\$ 34.95, paper US\$ 16.95), translated from the 1995 German original, provides a brief overview and attempts to theorize the problem.

Some miscellaneous historical works. *Inside Slavery: Process and Legacy in the Caribbean Experience* (Kingston: Canoe Press, 1996, paper US\$ 9.00), edited by Hilary McD. Beckles, publishes six of the seven Elsa Goveia Memorial Lectures presented between 1985 and 1991 – an important compilation. *The QC and the Middleman* (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1997, paper £12.00), by K.E. Ingram, retired University Librarian at UWI and a descendant of the story's protagonist, sheds light on legal and social issues in post-Morant Bay Jamaica. *Essays in French Colonial History: Proceedings of the 21st Annual Meeting of the French Colonial History Society* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997, cloth US\$ 35.95), edited by A.J.B. Johnston, includes several short papers relating to the French Caribbean. *Geschiedenis van de Antillen: Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1997, paper NLG 39.50), edited by Leo Dalhuisen, Ronald Donk, Rosemarijn Hoeffte & Frans Steegh, is an excellent and accessible introduction – for people in both the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles. *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, 1780-1830* (London: Frank Cass, 1996, cloth US\$ 37.00), by Norma Myers, is a serious attempt to profile that population, which numbered something like 10,000 (perhaps half in London) at any point during the period. *Ignatius Sancho: An African Man of Letters* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1997, paper US\$ 19.95), by Reyahn King, Sukdev Sandhu, James Walvin & Jane Girdham, published in connection with a 1997 exhibit, is a fine little contribution to our understanding of the role of black elites in eighteenth-century London. In an unsurprising work called *Historical Dictionary of the Spanish American War* (Westport CT: Greenwood, 1996, cloth US\$ 89.50), Donald H. Dyal takes the reader from Henry Adams to the Mosquito Squadron and on to the Winslow. *Vestingbouw overzee: Militaire architectuur van Manhattan tot Korea* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1996, paper NLG 29.50), edited by P.J.J. van Dijk, C.G.F. Ampt, R.G.A.

Bos, C. Tempel-van den Bout & D. Winkelman, is a contribution to Dutch overseas history, including brief chapters on forts and suchlike in Saba, Tobago, and Berbice.

Turning to the realm of creolistics: Cefas van Rossem and Hein van der Voort have edited *Die Creol Taal: 250 years of Negerhollands texts* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 42.50, paper US\$ 19.95), a fine anthology of varied texts in Negerhollands, the recently extinct creole of St. John, St. Thomas, and (to a lesser extent) St. Croix, accompanied by an extensive English-language introduction and complete bibliography of works on the language. *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997, cloth US\$ 165.00), edited by Sarah Thomason, contains but one Caribbeanist chapter, an important contribution by George Huttar and Frank Velantie that pulls together what is known about Ndjuka-Trio pidgin. *The Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles, Including Selected Papers from the Meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997, cloth US\$ 99.00), edited by Arthur K. Spears & Donald Winford, is an excellent collection, reassessing central methodological and substantive issues, and including individual chapters on Saramaccan and Ndjuka. *Diksyoner pratik kreol gwiyanen-franse, ke eleman gramatikal / Dictionnaire pratique créole guyanais-français, précédé d'éléments grammaticaux* (Kourou: Ibis Rouge Editions, 1995, cloth 198 FF), by Georges Barthélémi, is an amateur dictionary containing some 4600 words in French Guiana Creole.

Woordenlijst Surinaams-Nederlands: Vijftien jaar administratietaal van de Republiek Suriname (Paramaribo: Universiteit van Suriname, 1996, paper n.p.), the third section of Renata de Bies's doctoral thesis at the University of Antwerp, presents a brief dictionary of Suriname Dutch as used in government publications since independence in 1975. Her *De economische crisis en de woordenschat: Een verkenning van het taalgebruik in Suriname tengevolge van de crisis* (Paramaribo: Universiteit van Suriname, 1996, paper n.p.) is a brief study of the effect of Suriname's continuing economic crisis on the lexicon of Suriname Dutch.

We've received several photo books. Tria Giovan's intelligently conceived color images, combined with poetry and prose by Cubans at home and in exile, lend *Cuba: La isla ilusiva / The Elusive Island* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, cloth US\$ 24.95) a lingering, haunting quality. Frank Staub's *Children of Cuba* (Minneapolis: Carolrhoda Books, 1996, cloth US\$ 21.27), part of a juvenile series (Children of China, etc.) offers a routinely upbeat package, in words and photos. *Haiti* (Lakewood NJ: Distributed Art Publishers, 1996, cloth US\$ 45.00) presents in oversized

format Bruce Gilden's prize-winning black-and-white, in-your-face photographs of poverty, spirit possession, violence, and death. *In dit licht* (Leersum: ICS-Nederland, 1995, cloth NLG 119.00), edited by Gerrit Heinen, celebrates the collaboration between writer Boeli van Leeuwen and photographer Carlos Tramm, with aestheticized images in words and pictures that literally mirror one another. Carlos Tramm's photos in *Curaçao* ([Willemstad]: Foto Studio Tramm, n.d., cloth NLG 88.00) seem artistically uninspired, not out of place for a coffee-table book. There are two truly lavish photo books from Martinique. *Maisons des îles: Martinique* (Le François: Fondation Clément, 1996, cloth n.p.), with photos by Jean-Luc de Laguarigue and texts by Brigitte Marry & Roland Suvélor and with a gaze reminiscent of *Caribbean Style*, offers page after page of the magnificent homes of the island's elite, and *Images du rhum: L'histoire du rhum racontée à travers un siècle d'illustrations* (Le François: Fondation Clément and Gondwana Editions, 1996, cloth n.p.), by Éric Leroy, documents the history of the sweet liquid that permitted their construction and maintenance, with hundreds of reproductions of local rum labels from the mid-nineteenth century to the present.

Varied *Surinamistiek*. Naomi Glock has overseen the publication of a remarkable document, Laurens Aboikoni's detailed oral account of Gaama Aboikoni's funeral – *Di duumi u Gaama Aboikoni / The Funeral of Granman Aboikoni* (Paramaribo: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1997, paper n.p.) – presented in Saramaccan, with full English and Dutch translations, and supplemented by photographs. *Protocol for Visiting the Bushnegroes of Suriname's Rain Forest* (Paramaribo: Vaco, 1996, paper n.p.), by Cheryl E. Saunders-Williams, is an embarrassingly confused and earnest booklet barely on the level of a poor undergraduate term paper. *Suriname: Catalogus en lezingen bij de tentoonstellingen over Suriname in de Stedelijke Openbare Bibliotheek "De Biekerf"* (Brugge: Kruispunt, 1995, paper n.p.), a Belgian exhibition catalog, features engravings, excerpts from printed books, and several chapters by scholars. *Bosnegers en katholieke kerk: Van confrontatie naar dialoog* (Paramaribo: Stichting Wetenschappelijke Informatie, 1996, paper n.p.), by Joop Vernooij, is a scatter-shot history of relations between the Roman Catholic Church and Suriname Maroons. *Geldeconomie en productie voor eigen consumptie* (Paramaribo: Stuseco, 1996, paper NLG 37.10) is Merina M. Eduards's *scriptie*, a brief mix of economics gobbledygook and a household survey of two Saramaka villages, one of which (Piki Seei) she credits with having 6000 residents! And BOS NiEuWSLETTER, which continues to pull together articles and news relating to tropical forests, has published an issue on the Guyana Shield (vol. 15, no. 2, Sept. 1996) with a number of

politically progressive interventions about the increasingly dire situation in Suriname. More anodyne but still relevant publications are *Ecology and Logging in a Tropical Rain Forest in Guyana* (Wageningen, The Netherlands: Tropenbos Foundation, 1996, paper n.p.), by Hans ter Steege et al., an analysis of forest and logging policy in Guyana with policy recommendations for the future, and *Major Timber Trees of Guyana: Timber Characteristics and Utilization* (Wageningen, The Netherlands: Tropenbos Foundation, 1996, paper NLG 63.60), by J. Gérard, R.B. Miller & B.J.H. ter Welle, a useful guide, with obvious relevance for Suriname and Guyane.

Latin American Art in the Twentieth Century (London: Phaidon Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 69.96), a massive volume edited by Edward J. Sullivan, includes brief chapters on Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. *That's Life: Cartoons by "Joaquin" / Así es la vida: caricaturas de "Joaquin"* (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1995, paper US\$ 11.95), by photographer, composer, filmmaker, and polymath Jack Délano, offers up cartoons he drew for *The Island Times* between 1955 and 1963, with an excellent contextualizing essay by Ángel G. Quintero Rivera. Jennifer Smit's carefully documented *Monumenten en standbeelden van de Nederlandse Antillen* (Curaçao: JS, 1996, paper NLG 49.50) presents black-and-white photos of sixty-two public monuments and sculptures.

Several new guidebooks have come to our attention. Of special interest is James Ferguson's *Traveller's Literary Companion to the Caribbean* (London: In Print Publishing, 1997, paper £13.95), which offers an on-the-whole-excellent sampling of literature from the entire region, with island-by-island introductions and book lists. *Caribische eilanden: Mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur* (Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1996, paper NLG 17.50) is this same author's bird's-eye overview of the Lesser Antilles, the briefest of introductions for the uninitiated. *Jamaica: A Lonely Planet Travel Survival Kit* (Hawthorn, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1996, paper US\$ 17.95), by Christopher Baker, and *Jamaica Handbook* (Chico CA: Moon Publications, third edition 1996, paper US\$ 15.95), by Karl Luntta, seem like peas in a pod – well-meaning guides for "the independent traveler." Alex Bradbury's *Guide to Belize* (Old Saybrook CT: The Globe Pequot Press, 1996, paper US\$ 15.95) is a new edition of a book we liked last time around (NWIG 71:96-97). Kay Showker's *Caribbean Ports of Call: Western Region* (Old Saybrook CT: The Globe Pequot Press, 1997, paper US\$ 17.95), now in its fourth edition, is strictly for cruise ship passengers. *Guadeloupe* (Paris: Guides Gallimard, 1996, paper 175 FF) is a lavish guide, written with the help of local university

scholars, that suffers from the same combination of chauvinism and insouciance that we noted in the very similar Guide Gallimard *Martinique* (see *NWIG* 69:139-40); once again, for example, graphic images from Suriname (taken without acknowledgment from Benoit, Stedman, and Bonaparte) are purveyed as representing the specificities of the Antillean (this time Guadeloupean) past.

Finally, for any Caribbeanist who might nurture a taste for the new anthropology of emotions, Ruth Behar's birthplace, Cuba, is never far from the heart of her meditations in *The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology that Breaks Your Heart* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996, cloth US\$ 22.00).

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BOOK REVIEWS

Reading Columbus. MARGARITA ZAMORA. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. xvi + 247 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.00, Paper US\$ 18.00)

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This book is an exercise in the application of recent developments in the art of literary criticism to materials long regarded as "historical." Zamora sets out her objectives clearly in her introduction. She seeks to "understand the ways in which writing about the past makes it meaningful" by concentrating upon the "rhetorical rather than the referential qualities of writing," and upon the relationship between writer and reader that such writings can reveal. In so doing, she aims to correct the bias of empirically trained historians – those, that is, who like "to recreate what really happened, through an archaeology of the word" and who "feel most comfortable with the positivist assumption that the past can be essentially re-constituted in the present through the use of documentary sources" (p. 3).

To this end, she offers six essays devoted, in the main, to six of the writings generally accredited to Christopher Columbus. These are the account he wrote, in letter form, of his first voyage, the prologue to the (lost) *Journal* of this same voyage, the transcriptions of this *Journal*, the transcription of the *Journal* of the third voyage (made by Bartolomé de las Casas for the latter's *Historia de las Indias*), the so-called *Relación* of the third voyage, and, lastly, the letter Columbus wrote to his sovereigns after his fourth and final voyage. Zamora reads the writings with their audience and one transcriber principally in mind. She also appends a useful tran-

scription and translation of a recently discovered variant version of the first letter-account; indeed, her expertise in the Spanish language enables her to offer helpful translations throughout of the texts she discusses, some of them her own. There is an adequate index and a good bibliography.

Zamora's approach is a lively one – she has some felicitous turns of phrase and there are ideas here which were, when she first uttered them, original (those on geographic and cartographic images, for instance, in the essay "Voyage to Paradise"). Unfortunately, however, the book falls short of fully realizing her aim of converting and reforming historians. It does so on four chief grounds. First, the essays have, for the greater part, appeared previously in separate publications and, though somewhat revised for the book, still make an imperfect whole. Not until the third essay, for example, is any clear effort made to explain the history to date of the texts discussed, although the highly controversial first essay, on the first letter and its variant versions, stood in dire need of it. Secondly, there remain lapses in logic. For instance, in the third and fourth essays we are treated to a lively account of Las Casas's supposed manipulation, even re-writing, of Columbus's transcribed lost *Journals*, only to have one of these *Journals* spoken of as "the presumably unadulterated Columbian discourse itself" (p. 75). Thirdly, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century contexts within which the writings were conceived and received is, in fact, inadequately reconstructed. We need more than a reference to Isocrates and Late Antique rhetoric to persuade us that the intentions of Las Casas were indeed rhetorical; we need a reconstitution of the world within which he lived and worked, perhaps *via* the writings of Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine (whose names, remarkably, appear nowhere in the bibliography). And we need to know a *very* great deal more about the world of the sovereigns and that of other, hardly mentioned, members of the audience, such as Santangel.

Lastly, and arguably most importantly of all, much of the terminology employed is more fashionable than helpful, and encourages the eliding of important problems rather than their investigation. Bakhtin's "chronotypes" (p. 100) are, in fact, the historian's sources; but the survey of the sources of Columbus's writings in the fifth essay is poor indeed, a poverty little alleviated by reference to "the usual pantheon of secular masters" (p. 149). Gobbledygook often masquerades as argument; for example, "Pilgrimage and exploration accounts are not necessarily monochronotopic, although specific types of spatiotemporal configurations predominate in their generic definitions" (p. 100). Such sentences (and there are many more of them) do nothing to assist the author's case.

The corrective aim can only be applauded, and will be shared by the many others who also wish now to move on from historical positivism, but as a book, this collection of essays is defective. In the eyes of this reviewer at least, its deficiencies are overwhelmingly those of a publish-or-perish culture. Its author deserved more time.

Histoire Naturelle des Indes: The Drake Manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library. New York: Norton, 1996. xxii + 272 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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In 1983 the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City received the gift of an illustrated manuscript, *Histoire Naturelle des Indes*, formerly called the Peck Manuscript after its previous owner, and now usually referred to as the Drake Manuscript, since it is associated with Sir Francis Drake's forays into the Caribbean region. Until then it had been unknown to any public, lying hidden in private collections for all of the nearly four hundred years since its making. The Morgan Library mounted an exhibition based on the manuscript in 1988. An international team of scholars had worked with the manuscript and on the exhibition, translating the French text into English, investigating the provenance of the manuscript and its connection to Sir Francis Drake, and presumably studying its images. It is necessary to say "presumably" because almost no substantial results of this work have ever been published. What remains is a set of singularly uninformative and sometimes uninformed labels from the exhibition, the caption translations, and a brochure about the exhibition and the manuscript written for a popular audience (Klinkenborg 1988a).

Other than these, one article appeared in *Smithsonian* magazine which is essentially the same as, though not identical with, the brochure (Klinkenborg 1988b). William C. Sturtevant published very briefly on the manuscript before the exhibition (1985a, 1985b, 1985c). In 1991 an accurate and useful physical description of it appeared (Brochard & Chambon 1991). Most recently, Frank Lestringant reproduced and commented on some of the images that show scenes of Indian life, declaring the manuscript to be "*un document de tout premier ordre*" about the Caribbean

region in the sixteenth century (1995:93). But except for Brochard and Chambon, none of these articles presents research findings or conclusions, even though they do ask some of the interesting questions the manuscript suggests.

A published facsimile now makes this intriguing manuscript available to everyone. It reproduces all 124 folios with their 199 colored images of plants, animals, and human activities that the artist or artists – Lestringant suggests three – observed in the circum-Caribbean region. The dates, circumstances, and illustrator or illustrators are not precisely known, but the evidence so far suggests that the pictures were made on one or more of Francis Drake's voyages to the Caribbean region and collated into a manuscript with French text around 1690 (Klinkenborg 1988a, 1988b). The title page and binding were added later.

Unless your interest is in illustrated manuscripts as objects in themselves, apart from their content, this superb facsimile will serve you as well as the fragile original, and probably better. The facsimile includes a rudimentary introduction by Klinkenborg taken from what he has already published, and English translations of the French captions to each illustration. It does not include the simple and often inaccurate or inane labels that accompanied the exhibition. These are available only at the library. It is otherwise unadorned by scholarship and thus a pristine resource for scholars interested in the region before sugar plantations shaped island economies and societies, before slaves of African origin became the population majority, and before Native Americans had been reduced to a minor presence.

How valuable the manuscript is for deepening and augmenting our understanding of the circum-Caribbean region in the late sixteenth century remains to be seen in the work the facsimile may inspire. But it is unquestionably valuable to our understanding of images of the Americas, for it is primarily a work of images – that is, constructions as much as representations of plants, animals, and human activities.

I began work on the manuscript with slides and transparencies that for years had been available at the library, even though little used. I started with the plant images and their captions with the idea of finding out whether these tell us anything about tropical American plants in the sixteenth century – wild, domesticated, and feral – that we don't already know. I was also interested in them as French images and perceptions of American vegetation and as examples of botanical illustration, and in the relationships of pictures and text to earlier sources. I found a few nuggets of new information, but in general the new information the plant pictures provide about Caribbean plants is not extensive, especially since the precise location in which each picture was made is often obscure. I found

that my work is more useful for the gloss it supplies on the manuscript than for any gloss the manuscript supplies on the vegetation. But the same may not be true for the pictures of human beings and their activities, which are far more rich, detailed, and complex than plants or pictures of plants.

The illustrations of human activities suggest a number of questions: Does the manuscript add to our knowledge of native social life, economy, and culture, past or present? Does it illuminate Caribbean cultural origins, cultural continuity, and the processes of creolization? How does it perceive and represent Indians, Africans, and Europeans? What does it disclose about their interactions? Is it a useful source for understanding social and economic adaptations in the region before the rise of plantation economies? How do its perceptions compare with other sixteenth-century European perceptions of the American tropics?

This enchanting facsimile with its winsome pictures is too seductive for the comfort of Caribbeanist scholars. Examine it by all means, and have your students see and analyze its images. But taken uncritically as factual information, the manuscript could easily become a fountainhead of myth and misinformation. It is therefore essential for the contents of *Histoire Naturelle des Indes* to be subjected to critical examination. The facsimile supplies to anthropologists and historians abundant raw material for a thriving cottage industry.

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The Creature in the Map: A Journey to Eldorado. CHARLES NICHOLL.
London: Jonathan Cape, 1995. 398 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.00, Paper US\$ 15.95)

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Walter Raleigh has recently emerged, thanks in part to the works of V.S. Naipaul, Robert Nye, and now Charles Nicholl, as a literary icon of the moment of discovery and the process of colonial conquest. In all of these presentations there is a constant tension between the supposed golden fantasies of Raleigh and the dull realities of Orinoco, and this absence of gold becomes equivalent to a critique of colonialism and of the emptiness of colonial possession. In fact we now know that such sources of gold did exist, that they were well known to the Spanish in 1595, and that they were still known and considered for exploitation at the end of the eighteenth century. Yet, despite such empirical grounding, it is the "theatricalism" of Raleigh's self-presentation in the text, plus wider questions of the ethnographic authority of colonial observers, that dominate most readings of Raleigh's *Discoverie*.

Charles Nicholl's novel-cum-travelogue is no exception to this hermeneutic, and he even interrogates the text of *Discoverie* and Raleigh's reputation through an imitation of scholarly methodology. A journey with a television film crew from Trinidad to El Callao, on the Caroní (Nicholl's candidate for the location of Raleigh's *Macureguarai*), stands for the eyewitness "authority" of the field geographer or anthropologist. Similarly, Nicholl's claims to deal in previously unpublished materials and his interviews with professional historians and anthropologists take the place of actual scholarly debate. Finally, a textual study of literary scholars provides "theory" with which to evaluate Raleigh's claims as based on "fantasy" and "projection."

Although such commentary is necessarily unsystematic and prone to error, as with Naipaul, Nicholl does produce some valid and interesting interpretations. In particular, his suggestion that Sarmiento de Gamboa's *La historia de las Incas* (Seville 1572) may have had a strong influence on the development of Raleigh's theory of Incan invasion is well made. And like Naipaul, Nicholl is keen to point out the lack of reference in the *Discoverie* to a possible initial hostility between the English and the *Orinoqueponi*, the unsuccessful attack on Cumaná as the English de-

parted, and the "abandonment" of Hugh Goodwin and Francis Sparry. In truth Nicholl brings no new materials to these issues, despite his claims to the contrary, but he does spot the canard that Hugh Goodwin survived to be encountered by Raleigh in 1617.

Nicholl's brief encounters with *criollo* and *indio* in Venezuela further tempt him into a variety of ethnological speculations, including mistaken linguistic etymologies for "cairi," "tivitives," and "arowacai," the identification of the *Orinoqueponi* with the Macuxi, and the suggestion (my favorite) that "top" is a common element to native names to indicate "chief" (presumably as in "top-dog"!), and so on through arrow-poisons, place names, and ethnonyms.

This free-association of ideas and words works well toward the end of the volume where Raleigh is situated in the context of such associates as John Dee and others interested in alchemy and "chymistry." Even the emergent Rosicrucians are brought into the story, in virtue of Raleigh's naming of the Caño Manamo as "the riuer of the *Red crosse*, our selues being the first *Christians* that euer came therein."

Certainly there is every reason to call attention to Raleigh's fascination with native America, and the mimetic qualities to colonial relationships, and it may be that Nicholl's inferences regarding the mystical and psychological pursuits of the "creature" (i.e. lake of Manoa) represented in the map attributed to Raleigh (British Library *Add 17940, A*) more adequately illumine Raleigh's personal psychology. The Venezuelan historian Pablo Ojer has convincingly argued that the aesthetic style of the map actually closely resembles other Spanish hydrological representations of the Amazon, the Orinoco, and their connections, undermining the heavy significance given it by Nicholl. In Raleigh's case his personal interests in, and connections with, alchemists and mystics, such as John Dee, suggest that he also may have had further reasons to anticipate and seek out a "golden king."

Ironically, the idea that the search for *El Dorado* was but a search for the "Golden King" of Jungian psychic wholeness, or that the pursuit of this "creature in the map" was borne of the desire to slay some interior beast on the part of Raleigh, seems to necessarily locate him and his times in a safe haven of unknowable and uninterpretable motivation, as is all too often the case for accounts of native actors.

In contrast, by paying close attention to how native socio-cultural forms are registered in Raleigh's text, the *Discoverie* itself is a vehicle for the discussion and analysis of how others are represented and understood through written text (see Whitehead 1998). Previous colonial and anthropological commentators have tended to see issues of representation as

unproblematic, or beyond solution – either because such issues were unimportant with regard to the colonial depiction of obscure and extinct Orinoco tribes (especially when they had no more gold) or because for contemporary ethnographers all attempts at representation are condemned to collapse into depicting the same object – European selves. In either case, native people are erased from consideration, without having contemplated the possibilities for appreciating the role of political power and dominance in acts of representation that do not simultaneously disable our ability to interpret representations.

The issue here is not the form of analysis, for the novel and travelogue seem to this reviewer to be valid modes for the literary interrogation of historical sources. Indeed, if Nicholl's work is set alongside that of Stephen Minta (1993), Alex Shoumatoff (1986), or Bruce Chatwin (1980), journeys that attempt to recuperate past meanings seem even to have formed a sub-genre of travelogue. Rather it is the expectation, scholarly or otherwise, brought to these journeys of experience that finally determines the character of literary observation. In this light Nicholl has certainly produced a work that is both stimulating and entertaining, though sadly uninformative.

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Art and Archaeology of Pre-Columbian Cuba. RAMÓN DACAL MOURE & MANUEL RIVERO DE LA CALLE. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996. xxiv + 134 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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Art and Archaeology of Pre-Columbian Cuba is an important first step in bringing Cuban archaeology to people outside of Cuba. The book was written by two of Cuba's most highly regarded prehistorians in a language directed especially toward a general audience. The text was translated into English by Daniel H. Sandweiss, and edited by Sandweiss and David R. Watters, a noted Caribbean archaeologist. During editing they traveled to Cuba for discussions with the authors. They have also begun collaborative research projects. Hopefully, this publication will mark the beginning of an era of cooperation and collaboration between Cuban and foreign archaeologists, an arrangement that would benefit all involved.

This book is not, as the editors describe it, "The first *synthesis* of Cuban prehistoric art and archaeology to be published in English since Mark R. Harrington's *Cuba Before Columbus* in 1921" (p. xix). The present work provides little more than cursory summaries of these topics. The authors are capable of much more; although published in Spanish, the interested reader can find an excellent overview of Cuban archaeology in Dacal Moure and Rivero de la Calle's 1984 book, *Arqueologia aborigen de Cuba*.

Moreover, while American audiences have suffered from a dearth of information concerning archaeological research in Cuba, the Cubans have apparently suffered a similar lack of access to publications from the rest of the circum-Caribbean. In the authors' bibliography of "the most important sources used by Cuban prehistorians," 41 of the 91 publications pre-date the revolution and only 10 were published in the past decade. Their inability to relate their work to investigations conducted elsewhere in the region is evident in this book.

A particularly glaring error is their use of "Ciboney" as the name for the archaic (pre-Taino) peoples of Cuba. The authors state that "The chroniclers of the Indies, especially Las Casas, referred to the communities without pottery or farming as *Ciboney*" (p. 10). In fact, as the Cuban archaeologist J.A. Coscolluela pointed out in 1946, "The Ciboney Culture of Cuba is very similar to the Meillac of Haiti" (p. 16); in other words, they

were Tainos. Furthermore, he wrote, "We have named the natives who were in possession of this archaic culture in Cuba 'Guanajatabey,' a term used in the old chronicles of the conquest of Cuba by Oviedo, Herrera, Las Casas, and Pedro Martyr de Anglería, as well as in documents of the epoch, to refer to the sylvatic Indians who occupied the extreme western parts of the provinces of Pinar del Río in Cuba ... at the time of the discovery and conquest" (Coscolluela 1946:11). I emphasize this point because archaeologists elsewhere in the region have recognized this misnomer, and the present use of the name Ciboney perpetuates unnecessary confusion.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first, "The Setting," Cuba's physical geography is described with respect to winds, currents, and sea-level fluctuations. Human geography follows with discussions of terminology, important site locations, possible migration routes, and contact-period culture history. There are brief descriptions of the "Ciboney" (4 pages of text) and Taino (3 pages) cultures of Cuba. These sections mention the possibility that the archaic microlith industry in Cuba may be the result of early contacts with the southeastern United States, and that the Taino population at contact may have numbered 100,000 to 150,000. This part concludes with an overview of Cuban archaeology from its inception in 1847 when Miguel Rodríguez Ferrer, a Cuban functionary in the Spanish government, found the first Ciboney remains, up to the present.

The second part describes and illustrates examples of the major pre-Columbian art forms discovered in Cuba. There are 16 color and 102 black and white plates. Examples of archaic art include stone hearts, balls, and daggers; pictographs, and various ornaments. Little idols, clay figures of women, axes, vomit spatulas, *duhos* (wooden stools), petroglyphs, and pottery vessels are used to illustrate Taino art. The few gold artifacts from Cuba are also pictured. It is this section that is most significant for those who have lacked access to information about Cuba's archaeology.

Although *Art and Archaeology of Pre-Columbian Cuba* fails to live up to its billing as a synthesis of Cuban archaeology, it is the first work on Cuban archaeology published in English in almost eighty years, and it does provide valuable illustrations of the more interesting artifacts in Cuban archaeology. It is also an excellent companion to recent coffee table books on pre-Columbian West Indian art.

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Slave Cultures and the Cultures of Slavery. STEPHAN PALMIÉ (ed.). Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. xlvii + 283 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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This provocative collection is comprised of papers that were originally presented to a 1993 conference at the University of Munich. The fourteen essays, principally by anthropologists and historians, cover a variety of topics such as Frederick Douglass, slaveowning native Americans, Suriname Maroons, and West African market women. As is usual in enterprises of this kind, the contributions are uneven. A few represent elephants giving birth to mice, and the range is from thought pieces on the secondary literature (Sidney Mintz) to substantial investigations based on extensive archival research (of which the essays by Karen Fog Olwig, Gert Oostindie and Alex van Stipriaan, H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen, and Jean Besson, concerning slave and maroon cultures in the Danish West Indies, Suriname, and Jamaica are recommended.)

The whole is graced by Stephan Palmié's introduction, which is ambitious, provides a broad historiographical context, and in places is usefully controversial regarding the present state of early African American history. Herein, and on the dust jacket, we are assured that slave resistance is the focus of many of the contributions. But whether the issue is the constricting character of the resistance/accommodation approach (certainly a strawman by now), slave religion, the internal economy, or family life generally, the great problem in the field remains that of the nature and extent of Old World patterns as they shaped the Africans' adaptations to slavery, and how the same combined with local circumstances – terrain, demography, production modes – to shape the beginnings of African American cultures and communities. Until we get this seminal problem right, including the key issue of the nomenclature contemporaries actually used to describe the ways of incoming Africans, the chances of confounding rather than illuminating matters remains significant. West Africans were

polygynous, for instance, and brought those expectations with them, as they did much of the spirituality which pervaded other modalities of their existence.

In lifting the lid on the Chinese box of cultural survivals, Palmié scores the theoretical suppositions of Melville J. Herskovits as “naïve” (p. xix), while praising another scholar for “discarding much of an older analytical vocabulary involving concepts such as ‘culture contact’ or ‘acculturation,’ and substituting the fashionable notion of ‘cultural conversations’” (p. xx-xxi). Accordingly, precedence is given to the by-now familiar arguments that incoming Africans were “mere collectivities of deracinated individuals” (p. xvii-xx, xxiii) (encapsulated in Mintz and Price’s influential *The Birth of African-American Culture*), and to the complementary view, in Genovese’s “magisterial” work, that the slaves’ introjected their owners’ paternalistic outlook.

These positions don’t hold up well in light of what is now available in the literature concerning the role played by African cultural carryovers (which in certain times and places may be attributed – as they were by contemporaries black and white – to specific West African nationalities); nor are they corroborated by descriptions in this collection of repatriated slaves (Richard Rathbone, pp. 57, 62-63), slave cults derivative of Africa (Oostindie & Van Stipriaan, p. 93), and actual code words contemporaries used to denote those among their slaves who were African (Gudrun Meier, p. 71).

This is a useful volume, particularly because several of its contributors have been willing to take on the more difficult comparative and theoretical issues which continue to animate discussions of early African American history.

Small Islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean. KAREN FOG OLWIG (ed.). London: Frank Cass, 1995. viii + 200 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.50)

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This exciting volume fills gaps large and small and points to directions for future research. I emphasize one such direction here – the connection

between liberal ideology, free trade, and new forms of exclusion – which may become more important, with the rise of regional free trade agreements that leave out the Leeward Islands and the globalization of finance and production that weaves them in. Regardless, this book affords an opportunity to reflect on emancipation and rethink liberal conceptions of freedom. As Olwig writes, “[t]he ability to absorb the contradictions of freedom may well be one of the most important legacies of emancipation for Caribbean societies” (p. 7).

Olwig’s insightful introduction attends to these contradictions of “freedom.” No longer “protected” as property in a paternalistic slave system that guaranteed certain limited “customary” (and, to slave owners, cost-free) rights to subsistence, medical care, and education, the newly-emancipated were left “to fend for themselves” (p. 4) and, thus, were left with only themselves to blame for their failures. Common land tenure and migration emerged as responses to this paradox, and new racisms developed to “explain” people’s failures – and often violent resistances.

B.W. Higman takes an historical look at Caribbean history-writing. With the end of slavery and protectionist policies came decreased metropolitan interest and fewer written histories. Higman identifies Merivale’s 1841 *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* as a key text for subsequent writing. Merivale noted that the imperial fringes were “characterized by extremes of both liberty and slavery” (p. 11), and developed a typology of colonial societies based on land-labor ratios and the importance of export crops. Merivale also speculated about the demise of protectionism and the rise of free trade. Free trade led to economic failure, and economic failure came to be written in the terms of social Darwinism (p. 16). Higman traces the continuing influence of Merivale’s typology, and concludes with oral and popular histories.

Susan Lowes’s essay on the decline of elites in Antigua, and Riva Berleant-Schiller’s on the rise of the peasantry in Montserrat, nicely complement each other. Lowes describes challenges to elites posed by the Sugar Duties Act of 1846, which eliminated sugar subsidies and further consolidated free trade, and chronicles the concomitant rise of norms of “respectability” among non-white elites attempting to maintain their social position. The emerging race/gender system of respectability (based on legal marriages, legitimacy, etc.) ensured the exclusion of non-white lower classes. By the 1860s, free trade had so thoroughly decimated the economy that even “respectable” non-whites had little chance of economic advancement. Many sent their children abroad, or simply left the island altogether. Lowes concludes with a compelling discussion of elites’ efforts to maintain themselves by pleading with the Colonial Office for new forms

of protectionism. The result: Crown Colony rule and foreign corporate control of the sugar industry.

Berleant-Schiller examines the promotion of "peasantries" by the Colonial Office after the collapse of elites. She shows how the struggle for land became central to people's attempts to carve out niches for themselves, and details the rise of peasant crops as the main export. Plantation owners refused to sell land to the newly-freed, instead developing share-cropping systems. These systems encouraged squatting, which, by 1860, was legally recognized and even taxed (p. 62)! Berleant-Schiller emphasizes the impact of peasant export production on creating linkages with the rest of the Caribbean. As she notes, "systems of land and labour in Montserrat, and in the Caribbean, have always been tied to a global economy" (p. 68).

Jean Besson's essay on land, kinship, and community, and Olwig's on cultural complexity in Nevis, also nicely complement each other. Besson argues that the Hispanic Caribbean did not develop the customary tenures found in the English Caribbean because continuing Spanish colonialism, and later U.S. imperialism, propped up plantation economies. In the English Caribbean, customary tenures became a means of solidifying kinship and community on the ruins of the plantations. Family land was a process of "rooting" and "uprooting": the system which gave symbolic value to land ownership depended on migration to prevent competing economic claims from destroying kinship and community ties.

Olwig identifies three cultural traditions in Nevis: a hierarchical, paternalistic, quasi-feudal rural order, a mixture of African cultural elements brought by slaves, and an ideology of respectability that arrived with the Methodists. The latter made a good deal of sense when, with the coming of capitalist "freedom," industriousness and clean living seemed to underwrite one's successes. Respectability increased in importance as the newly-freed sought to differentiate themselves from each other, after the decline of elites, while earlier models of sociability complemented ideologies of freedom and equality. As with the family land system, migration alleviated the contradictions of this complex interweaving of sociability and respectability.

Gad Heuman reviews post-emancipation labor unrest and the rise of direct Crown rule. He argues that the structural causes of labor riots were low wages, the lack of capital among planters caused in part by free trade, and the withdrawal of prior "privileges" like rum and sugar allowances. Other factors included land scarcity, the unfairness of the judicial system, and the fear of re-enslavement.

George Tyson's chapter on labor riots on St. Croix from 1849 to 1879 tells an engaging story of new labor laws and intra-regional migration. As rural laborers left the estates for wage work in the cities, planters imported laborers from the rest of the Caribbean, creating competition between Cruzian urban day-laborers and immigrants. Horrible working conditions and efforts to prevent immigrant laborers from leaving created conditions for insurrection. Immigrant laborers led the cause. This chapter contains fascinating information on how laborers conceptualized their contracts, and the notions of freedom and bondage they brought to bear on emerging systems of wage work.

Elizabeth Thomas-Hope's review of post-emancipation migration synthesizes one position the chapters share: that "[m]igration provided a new framework within which Leeward Islanders could participate in economic activity central to regional interests and, at the same time, could adapt to an official freedom within the limits of their island system" (p. 163). In spite of colonial efforts to restrict their movement, Caribbean migrants consolidated circuits that provided both escape from the plantations and a means of maintaining links with home communities.

David Lowenthal's postscript identifies four post-emancipation developments: continued hegemony of the plantocracy; economic decline; the reduction of metropolitan interest; and the rise of new racisms. These are all connected, I would argue, and are linked to the implantation of liberal ideology and free trade. Liberalism declares all people free and equal, but in so doing, leaves people with only themselves to blame for their failings. Furthermore, liberalism justifies exclusion and hierarchy – and labor-force segmentation – based on naturalizations of these "failings," often with reference to kinship and gender. It should come as no surprise, then, that kinship and gender emerge in the post-emancipation period as key loci for the configuration of identity (through the emphasis on respectability and marriage, and the emphasis on sociability and extended kin ties articulated around family land).

In sum, this is an important volume that rectifies the dearth of scholarship on the post-emancipation period and solidly locates the Leeward Islands within broader conversations about the nature of the global and the local, cultural complexity, migration and citizenship, and the paradoxes of liberalism. These little islands in the global network provide big opportunities to rethink the global condition.

The Cuban Slave Market, 1790-1880. LAIRD W. BERGAD, FE IGLESIAS GARCÍA & MARÍA DEL CARMEN BARCIA. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. xxi + 245 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

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This study examines the yearly fluctuations of prices and the changes in demographic characteristics of the Cuban slave market during the period of intense slave-based sugar plantation growth. The authors are to be commended for compiling a price series for Cuban slaves (the largest and most complete for Latin America) analyzed by age, sex, and nationality for 1790 through 1880 from over 23,000 slave sales in Havana, Santiago, and Cienfuegos.

The first chapter offers an introduction to the economics of Cuban slavery. Chapter 2 discusses sources and methods of data collection. Most of the documentation is from the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, with data for the Havana slave market extracted from notarial records and data for the Santiago and the Cienfuegos slave markets derived from tax documentation on property sales.

Chapter 3 reviews the development of African slavery in relation to Cuban economic history. The lack of an internal labor market and restricted access to the African slave trade prevented the sugar economy from realizing its full productive capacity prior to the English invasion and successful occupation of Havana in 1762-63, which triggered an escalation in the slave trade. Sugar output subsequently increased, as did planter reliance on importation to maintain, if not augment, the size of an enslaved labor force that did not experience natural demographic expansion.

The fourth chapter analyzes the price structure of the Cuban slave market in the years 1790-1880. The cost of slave labor remained relatively stable, though "any perceived threat to slaving invariably provoked short-term responses" (p. 44). When such threats occurred, buyers of slaves purchased larger numbers of young slaves whose future reproductive potential was greater. This happened following the anti-slave-trade treaty of 1817, in the wake of the closing of the Brazilian slave trade by the British in 1851-52, in reaction to the slave census of 1857 and the generalized registry of island slaves the following year, and in response to the ending of the Cuban slave trade in 1867. At the time of abolition, demand for enslaved labor remained strong, confirming earlier arguments

by Rebecca Scott and Laird Bergad that slavery's demise was not caused, as Moreno Fraginals has maintained, by its economic inefficiency.

Regional variations in the island's slave market were significant and are explored in Chapter 5. In an urban center such as Havana, the slave market was influenced by the demand for domestic and skilled slaves, with prices for African or Creole slaves of either sex higher than in Santiago and Cienfuegos. Long-term stability of prices in the Cuban slave market is best illustrated by Havana, which saw little fluctuation in prices. With regard to age structure, in Santiago, where coffee was central to the economy and sugar was grown only on a small scale, a relatively high proportion of the slave population was 15 or younger. This phenomenon reflects higher reproductive rates among Santiago's slave population, though the authors do not explain the ability of Santiago's prime-age slaves to bear children at higher rates than in Havana or Cienfuegos. In emergent plantation zones, such as Cienfuegos, slave prices were generally lower because of a greater concentration of field hands. Here sugar remained central to the local economy even as final abolition approached.

Chapter 6 provides the first quantitative profile of *coartados* in Cuban society. *Coartación* was the right of a slave to initiate self-purchase. The slave was able to make partial payments that secured important prerogatives, such as freedom at a guaranteed price and a percentage of any wages earned equal to the percentage which had already been paid of the total price of the slave. Access to the market economy was essential for securing the down payment necessary to begin the process of *coartación*. Hence, the authors found more *coartados* – a majority of whom were women – in urban areas. Slave women occupied relatively favored positions in competition for freedom and access to the market place.

The book's final chapter compares general price trends in the Cuban slave market with those of the United States and Brazil. The long-term stability in price structure of the Cuban slave market suggests that as long as the slave trade continued it was capable of meeting the island's labor demands and that labor shortages were rarely problematic. Cuba's slave market was more similar to that of pre-1850 Brazil, where the slave trade provided sufficient slaves to maintain the stability of prices, than to that of the United States, where the slave population increased through natural reproduction.

A failure to address the individual and social dimensions of the Cuban slave market is the book's major weakness. History is about people, and yet not a single person is mentioned. Why not tell us something about the slaves who were bought and sold, the *coartados* who aspired to freedom, or the buyers of slaves?

In spite of this weakness, *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790-1880* is an important contribution to Cuban and Caribbean historiography. The book is a welcome addition to debates on the economics of slavery and will help the reader better understand other economic aspects of slavery and sugar production in nineteenth-century Cuba.

Fatal Glory: Narciso López and the First Clandestine U.S. War Against Cuba. TOM CHAFFIN. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996. xxii + 282 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95)

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There is a new world order. In Europe, exploitative systems are challenged by supporters of republicanism; governments change with startling rapidity. In the United States, free trade advocates anticipate untapped markets on the island ninety miles from Florida. Sugar, tobacco, and other agriculturalists fear the price impact of new relations between Cuba and the United States, but hope for continued government protection. Exiles from the island join with mercenaries nostalgic for recent military experiences to circumvent bothersome neutrality laws. Gaining support and raising money, they win the approbation of many in the mainstream media, and successfully avoid conviction for their legal acts – protests from the government in Cuba notwithstanding.

Presidents from both parties have vacillated about Cuba. Fearing the costs – both political and financial – of overt challenges to the government, their public and private statements alternately support and reject direct action. All agree that Cuba's system is anachronistic; it is not a democratic republic and its ideology and political economy are antithetical to those of the United States. Cuba endured too long the "protection" of another government which is itself crumbling from within, and continues to suffer a system that its neighbors have rejected.

And yet, some Americans ask, do Cubans really deserve outside assistance to overthrow their repressive government? If they lack that "loftiness of spirit" and "manly courage" to succeed on their own, what future obligations might the United States incur by directly destroying the old regime and helping to forge a new one?

U.S.-Cuban relations in the 1990s? No. U.S.-Cuban relations in the middle of the nineteenth century, as researched by Tom Chaffin in *Fatal Glory*. One might argue that a salient pre-U.S. Civil War issue, slavery, separates comparisons to the post-Cold War era. However, in both centuries, "free trade" advocates have been interested in poorer countries primarily as sources of cheaper labor and supplies, rather than as markets for manufactured goods or technology. And, as Chaffin points out, interest in acquiring Cuba was not motivated solely by the prospect of acquiring another slave state.

A U.S. historian, Chaffin demonstrates through his painstaking research what impact domestic politics and economy can have on foreign affairs. His focus is Narciso López, Venezuelan-born soldier who vainly attempted to wrest Cuba from Spanish colonialism between 1848 and 1851. Formerly a soldier in the Spanish army, an inveterate gambler, a womanizer, and a failure in business, López exemplified an age during which many opportunists in the Americas sought their fortunes through war. Annexation to the United States with slavery intact was the goal of López and the men in Cuba temporarily supporting him. For those in the United States who supported López, motives and goals varied.

In this critical period between the Mexican War and the Civil War, state and national politicians had conflicting objectives, the latter demonstrating a conspicuous reluctance to address definitively major issues such as slavery. Theirs were clearly not united states, and centralized control, especially of covert activities, was difficult. As Chaffin explains, federal and state enforcement agencies attempting to pursue López were poorly integrated. Loosely regulated and limited communication and transportation systems, and too few government agents, compounded the difficulties of restraining López's efforts.

Chaffin argues that the Southerners who supported López were primarily those not producing goods that competed with Cuba. And Chaffin proves that López received support in the North as well, especially from the author of the "Manifest Destiny" phrase, John O'Sullivan, and mercantilists from north and south who believed control of Cuba would be good for business. Through his narrative and his analysis, Chaffin approaches the difficult task of revealing who supported López and why. At many levels he accomplishes this: by providing a brief background of U.S.-Cuban relations and Spanish colonialism, by studying the cultural and economic life of the cities from which López received support, by analyzing the social and intellectual climate in the United States and Europe, by explaining the nature of the media and its critical role in attempting to support or subvert López's agenda, and by analyzing the political in-

terests and political parties of many men in this era. To see these events from the North American perspective, Chaffin relies on the diaries, memoirs, and the testimonies mainly of officers involved in López's filibustering activities. About the rank and file who were recruited, we know much less. We know what states they came from and the difficulties of organizing them into disciplined warriors, but little about what conditions or circumstances brought them together. We know there were demonstrations of support for López in the United States, but do not know who organized and attended them. If we have no new details about Narciso López himself, it is undoubtedly because little information beyond the secondary sources cited is available.

For U.S. historians, Chaffin provides valuable insight into the conflicting ideals of nationalism during this period. For Cuban historians, he provides a more detailed and analytic approach to the always complex issues involved in U.S.-Cuban relations. The book should also be recommended to students of Central American history, as it presages the activities of William Walker. Chaffin's narrative style and organization are readable and clear, his introductory chronology and illustrations useful, and his analysis concise. *Fatal Glory* is a valuable addition to the study of U.S. pre-Civil War history and foreign affairs.

Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994. MARÍA CRISTINA GARCÍA. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. xiii + 290 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

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Havana USA is the latest addition to the rich literature on Cubans in the United States. The book makes several contributions to an area of study that is well tilled – not a small accomplishment.

Garcia chronicles the history of Cuban exiles in and around Miami since the late 1950s. The focus is on the process of adaptation and the mutual influence between the actors and the structures around them. Political, economic, and cultural dimensions of the process of community formation are examined with the careful eye of an historian. As the Cubans change

the face of Miami, the United States changes Cuban exiles into Cuban-Americans.

The book is divided into two main parts. Part I covers the history of the different waves of exiles, although it does not include the latest one of the *balseros* (rafters) of the early to mid-1990s. Part II addresses the conceptual issues of cultural negotiation: national identity, cultural hybridity, assimilation, acculturation, accommodation, and resistance. Part I is excellent, detailed yet broad enough to cover the overall picture. Garcia skilfully sketches the nuances between the different migrant waves as well as the differences in world time at the moment of their migration. This section superbly captures the flavor of the Cuban experience in Miami, for it weaves the cultural dimensions elegantly and with precision. For instance, only a trained observer in tune with the area would notice that "The Mariel Cubans [those who left in 1980] were to some extent a liberalizing influence on the emigré community" (p. 116).

Part II is not as satisfying. Although it is well documented and as nicely written as Part I, the problem stems from the lack of answers to the conceptual questions. Key research questions are not examined theoretically. Yet Garcia provides convincing evidence of the process of negotiating the hybridity of Cuban-Americanness. She provides data on the politics of exile and points to the diversity among Cubans in Miami (something sorely missing in most popular and even scholarly accounts). In addition she discusses at length (and somewhat out of place) Cuban-American literature and other cultural productions. What is missing, though, are direct answers to the questions she posed in the introduction: "What does it mean to assimilate into American society? ... What does it mean to be an American?" (p. 7). The brief conclusion does not offer closure either. The case study, therefore, is not employed to bring clarity to the most difficult and important questions Garcia tackles. Much of the analytical work is left up to the reader. That is a shame because Garcia is an insightful observer who could have provided clues to these pivotal questions in the history and sociology of immigration and ethnic groups in the United States.

Con valor y a cómo dé lugar: Memorias de una jibara puertorriqueña.
CARMEN LUISA JUSTINIANO. Río Piedras: Editorial de la Universidad de
Puerto Rico, 1994. 538 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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The telling of a life story can take many forms. Sometimes it appears as a biography, other times as part of the discourse of history, and yet others in the form of a memoir. All these discourses have one feature in common: they all rely on memory. Memory, the faculty by which things are recalled or kept in mind, has also compelled many to organize the thoughts and ideas of a personal or collective life into the flourishing discourse of autobiography.

Autobiographical discourse, the written account of one's own life, as a literary genre has seen an increase in the past few decades in Latin America. Together with the popularity of the testimonial, autobiographical discourse has allowed us all to penetrate the everyday lives and experiences of many marginal groups: women, workers, slaves, migrants, the undocumented, and the disenfranchised, among many others. These histories are an attempt to document, describe, and analyze experience as it was lived at the most mundane levels. In most cases, this has meant writing case studies of life in villages, small towns, and other small communities, or studies of the impact of seemingly simple innovations (e.g., how life changed after running water was introduced or after the arrival of cars). In other cases, such as the book under review here, the telling of the story also attempts to offer an aesthetic value, adding a more literary flavor. In any event, and regardless of the way they are told, these stories liberate us from static societal views and remind us of the other part of history so many times left in oblivion. These texts seem directly or indirectly predicated on the assertion that the lives of marginal groups are also worth including in the writing of history, and that one can best see the weaknesses and contradictions in the larger power structures from the perspective of the margin.

Con valor y a cómo dé lugar is Justiniano's detailed memoir of growing up in the countryside of Puerto Rico during the 1920s and 1930s. Her family's plight was that of the coffee plantation and agricultural working family, including grueling work and constant moves from one plantation to the next in search of employment. The tremendous financial difficulties

faced by the Justinianos and the rapidly expanding family plunged Carmen Luisa very early in her life into hard work, great deprivations, and incredible injustices. The book is rich in details about the domestic chores, the family demands and expectations, and the social views of women, their bodies, and their souls. As the introduction by Puerto Rican historian Fernando Picó points out, this text is an important tool for studying regional histories of the period represented. It contains accounts about flora, fauna, education, work patterns, class differences, family relationships, violence, social customs, language, sexuality, and (very interestingly) the rights of children growing up during the 1920s and 1930s in rural Puerto Rico, an aspect that makes this book rather unique.

As an historian of everyday life, Justiniano is responding to an inadequacy of traditional history, which tended to focus on kings, conquerors, dates, and events, and sought large generalizations about historical trends. The rise of interest in the history of everyday life reflects shifts in other intellectual disciplines and cultural/political orientations. On the other hand, Justiniano's consciousness of the act of writing, revealed in many parts of the text, and her utilization of the autobiographical discourse posit interesting questions about authorship and authority, as well as about the act of writing.

For Justiniano, writing – especially writing one's own life – is a very difficult task. She realizes that it implies discipline, skill, and more importantly, power. I believe power appears in the text in its two basic meanings, both as the ability and skill to do something, and the capacity to dominate or control someone or something else. Early on the reader is also made aware of another important trait that defines Justiniano's character: her great curiosity and her thirst for knowledge. She intuits the power that knowledge affords and constantly tries to gain it; this knowledge is generally more experiential than bookish. Nature is one of her primary teachers, and the elders whom she meets in her many homes and travails are instrumental in the development of her search for answers. Common sense and intuition are also essential in her learning process.

This is a richly textured book, sometimes naïve, sometimes impressionistic, uneven in its style, and ferociously positive in its outlook on life. Historians will undoubtedly find it useful as a complement to their classes; cultural anthropologists will encounter a detailed array of customs and kinship relationships which reveal the intricacies of daily life in the 1920s and 1930s in Puerto Rico; geographers, naturalists, and environmentalists will benefit from the accounts of natural life and topography; literary critics will find interesting discursive developments, especially those related to the discourse of autobiography, and those interested in women's studies

will enjoy the ways this text reclaims and preserves the history, art, literature, and culture of women of this period in Puerto Rico which in many other accounts appear buried beneath or are treated as peripheral by male-centered historical and cultural accounts.

My Music Is My Flag: Puerto Rican Musicians and Their New York Communities, 1917-1940. RUTH GLASSER. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995. xxiv + 253 pp. (Cloth US\$ 30.00, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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Every other afternoon – around the mid 1980s in the Chancellor's office at the Conservatory of Music of Puerto Rico – my secretary used to step into my office and announce: "Don Paquito would like to talk to you." Getting out of my administrative routine duties, I would spend lengthy moments of conversation with "Don Paquito," Dr. Francisco López Cruz, the well-known guitar player of such popular groups as Rafael Hernández's Trío Borinquen and Cuarteto Victoria. I remember Don Paquito's insistence on the need for future generations to know of his musical memoirs as a young boy in Naranjito, his move to neighboring Comerío to study during his high school years, and his eventual migration to the United States, specifically New York City. His stories about the rich and varied musical activities of Comerío, an economically successful tobacco growing town, during the first decades of the twentieth century and its eventual decadence because of the advent of the U.S. protected cigarette business industry, were indeed absorbing. Don Paquito died some years later. At that time I thought his memoirs would be lost forever. Some sort of guilt complex haunted me for years until Ruth Glasser's book came to my attention. And that is precisely one of the main contributions of this original doctoral dissertation edited into a book: the documentation of Puerto Rican music history on the Island and in our communities in the United States, especially in New York City between the two world wars.

Having found in her research a lack of documentation of the history of Puerto Rican music, Glasser conducted personal interviews with musicians of the period to fill in the gaps. Thus, history is told by the actors, including Francisco (Paquito) López Cruz, Francisco López Vidal, Victoria Hernán-

dez, Johnny Rodríguez, Miguelito Miranda, Angélica Duchesne, Ernesto Vigoreaux, and many others who lived the migratory experience.

The book consists of a preface, five chapters, a conclusion, and a lot of good photos. Chapter 1, "In Our House, Music Was Eaten for Breakfast," starts with a famous anecdote of the Governor of Puerto Rico, Theodore Roosevelt Jr., who in 1931 vetoed a project already approved by the House and the Senate for the establishment of a European-style conservatory of music and his defense of Puerto Rican popular music ("la música brava") against local musicians and politicians. This sets the stage for her analysis of the music production in colonial Puerto Rico up to the inclusion of its popular music in the U.S. commercial, mass-oriented music industry (radio, cinema, T.V.) and, to paraphrase the author, an apparatus over which Puerto Rican musicians and organizers did not have direct control. Chapter 2, "From 'Indianola' to 'Ñó Colá,'" documents the relationship of Puerto Rican musicians with the United States, especially through Afro-American musicians in the military bands. The figure of James Reese Europe stands as the main link, responsible for bringing many dark-skinned Puerto Rican musicians, including the great Augusto Coen, to U.S. military bands. Chapter 3, "Pipe Wrenches and Valve Trombones," examines the role of musicians as laborers and cultural workers going back and forth between the Island and New York City and the establishment of Puerto Rican cultural communities in the United States. Chapter 4, "Vénte Tú," deals with the relationship of Puerto Rican musicians and the recording industry, focusing on perhaps the most prolific popular music composer of these years, Rafael Hernández. Glasser introduces Hernández as the composer who represents the rise of the patriotic song ending with an analysis of his famous "Lamento Borincano." Chapter 5, "El Home Relief," is a detailed analysis of the birth and further commercialization of the working class music, *plena*, as exemplified by Manuel Jiménez ("Canario"), recording for RCA records.

The author candidly asks in the preface, "What is a nice Jewish girl from Brooklyn doing studying Puerto Rican music?" This obviously reveals the Island's national-colonial situation, for Puerto Rico has failed to prepare researchers and writers of its own music. In this sense, our musical institutions have failed us. But what is most important, is not Glasser's ethnicity, but her point of view, as demonstrated throughout the book, that produces an analysis of Rafael Hernández's famous song "Preciosa," a clear and direct criticism of Puerto Rico's colonial status.

Research and publications of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies at City University of New York had an influence on the author's theoretical framework, especially in the economic and political fields. In the cultural-

musical one, due to the fact that most of the academic sources that the social historian can draw on are U.S.-produced ethnomusicological studies, she commits herself to imprecise terminologies that view Puerto Rican "folk" and "popular" music as a "subculture" of the U.S. mainstream. On the other hand, the last chapter didn't have to end on a "low-note" of *plena* music. A brief update of the Golden Age of *plena* in the 1950s in the figure of Rafael Cortijo y su Combo, with Ismael Rivera and Ramón "Mon" Rivera, and the hit-song "Aló Quién Nama?," could have been included instead.

Nevertheless, Puerto Rican musicians, individual researchers, and music historians are in debt to Glasser. The book's translation into Spanish to be used as a primary reading source or textbook would be an asset for courses on Puerto Rican music at the college and university level. Cheers!

State and Society in the Dominican Republic. EMELIO BETANCES. Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1995. xix + 162 pp. (Cloth US\$ 52.00, Paper US\$ 17.00)

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This book offers a long-overdue synopsis of Dominican history and society in the Republican period. Emelio Betances provides one of the first syntheses in English of a literature that remains largely untranslated. As such, this slim volume will provide a valuable supplement to courses on the modern Caribbean, as well as the emerging field of Dominican studies.

Betances surveys the process of state and class formation from the nineteenth century onwards in relation to the development of export agriculture and U.S. intervention. From the country's independence from Haiti in 1844, he provides a nuanced discussion of a largely-foreign merchant class as it emerged and rapidly became creolized through intermarriage with prominent local families from the tobacco-growing valley of the Cibao. He goes on to trace the fate of this proto-bourgeoisie as it negotiated – first, the onslaught of foreign investment which grew in leaps and bounds during the U.S. intervention (1916-24), then the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo (1930-61), and later the modernizing regime of Joaquín

Balaguer (1966-76 and 1986-96). He strikes a nice balance, providing sufficient sociological detail to ground his discussion, but not too much to bog down his larger argument.

Betances takes on one of the "foundational fictions" (Sommer 1991) of Dominican historiography by arguing that state formation commenced not with the U.S. Military Government, but rather the late nineteenth-century order and progress dictatorship of Ulises Heureaux (1886-99), who opened up the country to foreign investment, particularly in the sugar sector. Betances thus figures as part of a growing generation of scholars seeking to problematize the relationship between the Dominican Republic and the United States as less one of unilateral domination from the northern colossus than one of a contest between local groups and their *Yanki* adversaries. This position thus builds upon the classic historical sociology of Harmannus Hoetink, who stressed the primacy of local agency in Dominican historical change.

The book's most original contribution may be the chapter treating the little-studied regime of Joaquín Balaguer. Betances argues that the secret of Balaguer's notorious longevity was its Bonapartist structure, since Balaguer operated as a broker between fractions of a weak local bourgeoisie and the United States. Balaguer skillfully took advantage of the country's geostrategic significance during the Cold War due to its proximity to Cuba as U.S. aid and investment poured in to preempt any further communist threats from taking shape. Balaguer's political strategy, which was buoyed by high sugar prices and unprecedented levels of foreign investment, was skillfully playing the populist to the people by gifting the peasantry with land and the urban poor with housing, and offering civilian elites and the military extensive opportunities for enrichment through public works contracts and opportunities for speculation.

Betances justly seeks to problematize class by presenting it as a social relationship, rather than a reified object. Yet while Betances's brokerage model accounts for one important source of elite legitimacy, the United States, his purely economic definition of class causes him to overlook others. A rigid deployment of class analysis can be unwieldy for this Spanish colonial backwater which did not develop along the typical Caribbean pattern – plantation slavery with its resultant ranked color/class hierarchy – but rather cattle grazing, slash-and-burn subsistence agriculture, and contraband to neighboring Haiti, a combination which failed to provide the basis for a well-articulated bourgeoisie until very late even by Latin American standards. As a result, as Baud has shown (1995), even important export crops such as tobacco were grown by peasant smallholders, not latifundistas.

Betances's monolithic model of social class at times obscures more than it reveals. For example, he proposes that the traditional emphasis on clientelistic interpretations of the nineteenth-century caudillo or rural strongman should be supplanted by one that evaluates the caudillo as a vehicle for class interests. Yet during this period, Dominican elites were so divided along regional and sectoral lines that alliances tended to be conjunctural and fleeting, thus vitiating the ground of class formation. Betances goes against the grain of traditional historiography by patently negating the role of regional identity in defining nineteenth-century politics, yet he fails to replace it with anything. If party identities were merely false consciousness (p. 51), how do we account for their virulent adherence?

Class boundaries were equally problematic for the new economic group constituted by the Trujillo regime, the ferocious yet nationalist dictatorship that arose through the U.S.-trained national guard, which Betances argues formed a "new economic elite." As the author himself demonstrates, however, the primary beneficiaries of this cronyistic regime were Trujillo's immediate family, since Trujillo jealously sought to control the commanding heights of the economy, from salt mining to sugar, and to maintain them within the confines of his small circle of "*hombres de confianza*." Economic blocks were considered potentially threatening to Trujillo's monopoly of political power. Even if one argues that this inner nepotistic family circle did in effect constitute a social "class" fragment, one must still contend with the problem of its relationship to the traditional aristocracy, which viewed predominantly mulatto regime insiders with deep mistrust because they lacked signs of elite distinction such as old wealth, lineage, or claims to whiteness. Here it would have been profitable to consider some of the meanings attributed to class ascription, as well as the relational nature of identity – issues which would challenge the notion of social class as a form of economic structure. Had Betances considered issues of moral authority, the claim that a unified bourgeoisie was forged under the regime would be more difficult to sustain. And destabilizing class through considering issues of consciousness would have opened up further questions related to the changing balance of power between elites, the United States, and the state over time which here remain latent.

In sum, Betances has provided a valuable state-of-the-literature review which paves the way for further research on issues of Dominican class and state formation and transformation from the nineteenth century to the present. Having sketched the broad economic historical sweep since independence, historians can now turn their attention beyond the assumption of hegemony to the complex terrain of what Joseph and Nugent (1994) have called "everyday forms of state formation," and interrogate further

the grounds of social class and political identity in the Dominican Republic.

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In the early days of October 1937, one of the most infamous massacres in Latin American and Caribbean history took place. Under orders of dictator Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, the army of the Dominican Republic ruthlessly killed thousands of Haitians in the border region with Haiti. This brutal event – usually called the *matanza* or the *corte* of the Haitians – has often been explained as the culmination point of a long history of animosity between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. It has also been considered a nationalist reaction to what was called the *invasión pacífica* of poor Haitian peasants who settled on Dominican territory. But these are only partial explanations. In the foregoing period hostilities had also occurred between the armies of the two states and Haitian peasants had always lived in the Dominican border region. Why then did the Dominican dictatorship decide in 1937 to kill poor, defenseless Haitians? What was the motive and why did these killings occur in this period? These questions

are not easily answered. The Trujillo regime obviously did all it could to obscure the extent of the massacre, but the Haitian government, afraid of its neighbor's military strength, was also hesitant to disclose details about the events and the number of Haitians killed.

It has been historians in the country that perpetrated the crime who have most insistently tried to unravel the events, especially by publishing documents. In 1985 José Israel Cuello, Dominican intellectual and owner of the most important publishing house in the country, Editorial Taller, brought out a monumental volume which contained much of the correspondence from within the regime. A few years later (1988), Bernardo Vega, director of the Fundación Cultural Dominicana, published his first volume on Dominican-Haitian relations in the period preceding the *matanza*. Now he has produced a second volume on the *matanza* itself. And a third volume on the aftermath is in store.

In a sense Vega's second volume builds on Cuello's book. It even includes a number of the same documents. There are, however, two differences. While the documents presented by Cuello focused on the (diplomatic) aftermath of the killings, Vega's book contains many documents from the period during and immediately after them. Secondly, while Cuello presented the annotated documents and commented on them very briefly in the book's margins, Vega tries to write the story of the events by intercalating the documents with his own observations. Vega's book therefore situates itself somewhere between a mere compilation of documents and a historical analysis. This improves the reader's comprehension of the events, but makes it more difficult to find specific documents.

The most shocking conclusion to be drawn from the documents presented by Vega is that insiders were well aware of what had happened during and right after the killings. The U.S. ambassador Henry Norweb had already sent an extensive telegram to the State Department on October 11, mentioning an estimated 1000 victims and adding many gruesome details. He dispatched some more reports and then left for a conference in Havana on October 13. In the following days and weeks, the United States tried repeatedly to obtain more information from the Dominican authorities, but to no avail. An impenetrable *cordon sanitaire* was built around President Trujillo. This was above all the work of two close collaborators of the president, the nationalist intellectuals Ortega Frier and Joaquín Balaguer. They stressed that the events were in no way an international dispute. The official Dominican version was that Dominicans living in the border regions had taken justice into their own hands, and killed Haitians whom they suspected of rustling and stealing their crops.

When the U.S. pressure on Trujillo increased, he secretly began nego-

tiations with the Haitian government. Trujillo had rightly judged that no one wished to have fingers burned on this case, but he was not altogether happy with the consequences of his actions. Apart from the political isolation, it was the bad press that hurt him more than anything else. His negotiations with Vincent were a clever piece of damage control. Although the massacre hung over him during the rest of his political career, they took the sting out of the critique leveled against his regime.

The documents reprinted by Vega do not offer conclusive answers about the direct motives for the massacre. Most probably the massacre should be viewed as the extreme consequence of a regime that was based on a dogmatic nativist nationalist policy. The documents, which do not make pleasant reading, give insight into the perverse logic of the Trujillo regime and the cold aggressive nationalism of some of its most important collaborators. They also show all the cynicism, impotence, and ambiguity of international politics. As such, they are essential reading for anyone wishing to understand Dominican-Haitian relations and twentieth-century U.S. politics in the Caribbean.

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Sugar and Slavery, Family and Race: The Letters and Diary of Pierre Dessalles, Planter in Martinique, 1808-1856. ELBORG FORSTER & ROBERT FORSTER (eds. and trans.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. 322 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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The letters and diary written in Martinique in the first half of the nineteenth century by Pierre François Marie Dieudonné Dessalles are, happily, now available in English translation. Elborg and Robert Forster offer

selected portions of the four-volume edition that was published in 1980-86 by Henri de Frémont, Dessalles's great-great-grandson, and Léo Elisabeth, which was already an abridgment of the original manuscripts.

Born in 1785 into a Breton family which moved to Martinique around the middle of the seventeenth century, Pierre Dessalles (the third to carry the name) thought of himself first and foremost as a Creole and, though he was constantly struggling to define his geographic identity, was more anchored in Martinique than in France, as the Forsters very rightly point out. He died in 1857. His position within the colonial society did not suffer from similar ambiguities. As the owner of sugar and coffee plantations, he was a slave master, and much of his life was devoted to reporting business matters back to his querulous mother in France and to getting the work of the plantations done, through coercion if necessary, by a "200-head" labor force. The question of slavery, so deeply embedded in the society of the islands, constantly haunted Dessalles. How could it have been otherwise, given that the planters of Martinique were witnessing not only the abolishment of slavery in Guadeloupe (in 1794) while the English occupation prevented it in their own island, but also the revolution in St. Domingue (in 1791), independence in Haiti (1804), and various forms of unrest (slave revolts and the agitation of free coloreds) in Martinique itself during the entire first half of the nineteenth century that were to culminate in the emancipation of slaves under the Second Republic? The Forsters deal effectively with all these factors, presenting a full discussion of the economic and social context and making a concerted effort to depict the author's political position, religious convictions, family ties, relationships with slaves, and so forth.

Why is it, then, that a reader familiar with the French edition of these materials comes away from the English edition with a feeling of vague discomfort? One reason, I believe, has to do with the very conceptualization of the undertaking. Problematic from the beginning, the idea of an abridgment is particularly questionable in this case. In the process of making cuts, the original text has faded and lost internal complexity, and the doubts and ambivalences that ran through Dessalles's life at such a profound level have been turned into confusing incoherences. The Forsters are acutely aware of this problem, and offer in their introduction helpful insights on how to read the text (which unfortunately apply better to the French edition than to the one they have produced here). But one is tempted to ask whether the problem doesn't have deeper roots. It is quite clear that the Forsters understand the workings of the plantation society very well; interpreting the character of Dessalles with all his complex internal contradictions (an alternation between the rejection of France and the rejection

of Martinique, his whipping of slaves and his tears of remorse...) is another matter. It is almost as if the analysis of the diary materials derived less from the text itself or a reading of Dessalles as an individual than from a pre-conceived set of understandings centered on what a person like Dessalles symbolized. No one would deny that he was a planter, no better and no worse than any other; but there is a question whether he is best presented as a landed slave owner and a representative member of a certain social structure or, rather, as Pierre Dessalles, a particular, inevitably idiosyncratic individual. This point is not as naive as it might sound, and the slips into stereotype sprinkled throughout the introduction show how easily pre-conceptions give birth to questionable assertions, some of them quite comical, such as planters' dining under banana trees (a strange idea, given how badly they stain) or bougainvilleas (which were introduced to Martinique at the very end of the eighteenth century and popularized only very gradually, too late for poor Dessalles). At times these become positively irritating when they reveal gaps in knowledge; the Forsters claim, for example, that Dessalles's practice of circulating family correspondence among those close to him was "un-French," when in fact just the opposite is true.

This substantial volume is to be commended, but not without an expression of regret that the project was so compromised by limitations in both scope and interpretation.

La famille coloniale: La Martinique et la mère patrie, 1789-1992.
 RICHARD D.E. BURTON. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994. 308 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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This book, a collection of articles previously published in English, is now translated into the French for the benefit of a Martiniquan audience. Far more than merely providing a collection of essays, Burton's goal is to describe the colonial relationship between France and Martinique and to offer a new and dynamic reading of Martiniquan history, based on an analysis of the colonial discourse and drawing on psychoanalytic and anthropological models as well as the work of historians.

In the first part of the book, he argues that French colonial discourse couches the relationship of France to Martinique in kinship and, specifi-

cally, matrifocal terms: France as mother, Martinique as daughter. He then extends this familial metaphor by proposing a typology of French governments, grounded in gender and kinship. The first type is "authoritarian," male and patriarchal. Falling into this category are the monarchy, the first and second empires, and Vichy. In these, although certain female figures (the Virgin Mary, Jeanne d'Arc, the Empress Josephine) may assume symbolic importance, authority is vested in a paternal figure: king, emperor, general, or marshal. Burton's second type, which encompasses all of the French republics, is the "democratic." To Burton, these governments are female, maternal (less in the sense of nurturing than "strangling," "suffocating," "castrating"), and each one is founded by a symbolic murder of the Father (the execution of Louis XVI in 1793, the deposition and exile of Louis-Philippe in 1848 or of Napoleon III in 1870). They are embodied in allegorical female figures (Liberty, Rationality, Republic, and – above all – Marianne), although executive power is still exercised by male figures (Christ and the republican heroes, among them Victor Schoelcher). Burton's interpretation here is compelling, despite the fact that he takes his evidence from secondary sources, especially the work of historians.

In the second section of the book Burton draws a comparison between the kinship organization of the Martiniquan family and Martinique's relationship to France, arguing that both the colonial political order and the kinship system are shaped around a common, familially-structured sense of social order and social relations. Here, he takes his inspiration from the work of anthropologists and other social scientists specializing in structural-functional analyses of the Caribbean family. One of the key concepts in Caribbean studies is that the Caribbean family exhibits a "matrifocal" structure, in which the mother takes the central role. Burton draws from this literature to argue that it is the woman who defines the moral world of Martinique: "male Caribbean culture is a parasitic culture, which, in the last analysis, depends on the Mother, and in a larger sense the woman" (p. 231). Relying on informants, novels and poems, Burton asserts that the Caribbean female, far more than the Caribbean male, has digested French values. And because of her predominant role in the family, it is the woman who transmits European values and serves as the major force in the cultural and political project of assimilation. In his analysis of Leon Gontran Damas's poem "Hoquet," Burton argues, "Because of the almost total absence of the father, this phallic mother, who has assimilated colonial values to her superego, transmits them to her castrated and feminized son. Thus the colonial triangle [Mother Country, Daughter

Country, colonized] and the family triangle are superimposed and mutually reinforcing" (p. 251).

Burton's hypothesis that the Martiniquan family and the colonial regime share a common psychological matrix is thought provoking. But Burton leaves us wondering about the mechanisms of the relationship between the two levels of social reality, the political and the familial. From a social-sciences point of view, the evidence of metaphors is not sufficient. To conclude, we are disappointed that he does not introduce a theoretical framework to justify the relevance of this link. Anthropologists and psychoanalysts know that trying to connect different levels of reality is already extremely problematical.

The Economics of Emancipation: Jamaica & Barbados, 1823-1843.
KATHLEEN MARY BUTLER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,
1995. xviii + 198 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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The prospect of receiving millions of pounds as compensation for slave emancipation promised British West Indian planters and their creditors some relief from the spiraling debt crisis that by the 1820s was crippling the sugar plantation economy. Butler's cogent and compelling analysis of the economics of emancipation explores the profound yet differing effects that the payment of this indemnity had on two of Britain's pre-eminent sugar colonies, Jamaica and Barbados (whose slaveowners received £6,161,927 and £1,721,345, respectively, out of the total disbursement of £20,000,000).

Butler uses plantation accounts and correspondence, deeds and mortgages, and the rich yet neglected trove of chancery court records to construct financial profiles for some 900 Jamaican and 300 Barbadian sugar estates. These reveal the island-wide ramifications of both the promise and then the payment of substantial sums of money to indemnify planters for the loss of their labor force, with Butler persuasively accounting for differences between the two colonies by contrasting how dense sugar cultivation enabled Barbados's predominantly resident planter class to maintain their monopoly on land ownership, while higher absenteeism

rates among Jamaica's planters combined with readier availability of land to encourage small proprietors, peasants, and others with more modest agrarian aspirations. Her discussion of expansion and speculation (Chapter 5) shows the short-term benefits Barbadian planters in particular accrued as the injection of capital facilitated land transfers, keeping prices high and estates intact.

Shortages of capital, however, ultimately led to the economic distress, felt earlier and more intensely in Jamaica, that destroyed sugar's hegemony, yet left the goals for an autonomous small landowning class unrealized (Chapter 7). On both islands, planter indebtedness reduced the impact of indemnification, since their creditors, the most significant of whom were based in England and Scotland, kept a large share of the pay-out back in the United Kingdom. Sound discussions of debt reduction (Chapter 3), credit and creditors (Chapter 4), and trade and finance (Chapter 8), chronicle these metropolitan and international effects, and lend some credence to colonists' complaints that the islands remained cash-poor while the lion's share of the compensation moneys went to British bankers and merchant houses.

A fascinating chapter describes the role of white women planters in the sugar economy as they administered plantations, participated disproportionately in estate transactions, and offered important sources of local credit (Chapter 6). Butler could have strengthened this section, however, by better integrating it with the rest of the text, and by explaining the role of these women through fuller comparative analyses with the activities of their male counterparts.

Butler's discussion of the pro-planter West India lobby (Chapter 1), and the administrators responsible for allocating compensation (Chapter 2) competently introduces her inquiry, while a thoughtful epilogue suggesting that Britain's emancipation policies "provided a cautionary model for other slaveholding nations" (p. 141) in the West Indies, directs attention to an unexplored area of research whose pan-Caribbean orientation would be a welcome addition to the still sadly limited comparative historiography of the region. Numerous clear and comprehensible tables and figures are a well-integrated complement to the text, a handful of maps help the reader situate Butler's analysis, and her notes, bibliography, and index are models of clarity and thoroughness.

Butler may overstate her case in contending that her study's "focus on the planter class reincorporates an element of society that has been largely deemphasized in recent studies of West Indian slavery" (p. xvii), and she could have been more assiduous in examining the effects of the economics of emancipation on the many constituencies of the non-planter worlds in

Jamaica and Barbados. Nevertheless, this is an admirable study and a fine addition to the exciting new scholarship that has been chronicling the profound transformations wrought during the transition from slavery to freedom in the Americas.

A Portrait of Paternalism: Governor Henry Light of British Guiana, 1838-48. DAVID CHANDERBALI. Turkeyen, Guyana: Dr. David Chanderbali, Department of History, University of Guyana, 1994. xiii + 277 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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This book is an attempt to provide a rounded view of Henry Light's performance as Governor of British Guiana, where existing literature has much to say about some of the problems he encountered, but does not seek to assess his career as a whole. It goes beyond the story of Light's personal activities to provide a general picture of the colony during the critical years after emancipation in 1838. Some of the information presented is widely known to historians, and much is familiar to the specialist, but some of it is new. In particular, the author draws quite heavily on the hitherto under-utilized minutes of British Guiana's legislature, providing new material on the passing of the colony's Emancipation Act, for example.

Light was asked to cope with the unprecedented problems of the immediate post-emancipation period with only two years previous experience as a governor, and that of the less difficult colonies of Antigua and Dominica. He is pictured here as a determined and even-handed paternalist, seeking to promote the interests of all classes in the face of a series of determined campaigns by the planters to minimize government expenditure while maximizing their labor force, and a considerable measure of personal antagonism soon developed. On the vital subject of immigration Light is shown to have been cautious and moderate: he would support a regulated flow of immigrants commensurate with the facilities available for housing and hospitalization and the avoidance of a public financial burden. In dealing with Venezuelan and Brazilian border disputes he showed tact and skill, while his policies toward education, medical care, the growth of a

peasantry, and the Amerindian population were marked by a benevolent paternalism.

More surprising is the assertion that it is "incontrovertible" that the new freemen after 1838 provided more labor for the estates "than the most sanguine could have anticipated" (p. 233), as well as the conclusion that by 1848 emancipation had proved to be "advantageous to the planter" and property had been placed "on a more stable basis than before" (p. 238) – a comment which is supported only by a few brief remarks about the condition of Georgetown and the growth of the retail trade and some other forms of business.

This conclusion is no doubt facilitated by the fact that while Light's governorship lasted until May 1848, Chanderbali says almost nothing about developments after 1845. Without some consideration of Light's handling of the problems created by the imperial Sugar Duties Act of 1846 and the economic crisis of 1847-48, which constitute a most important part of his experience, any assessment of his governorship must be less than adequate. This book is further marred by a haphazard pattern of referencing. Long passages are devoid of references, as are some quotations, and some of the latter remain mysterious to the end. The statement that after emancipation blacks established control of the retail trade for a while, using stocks taken over from the plantations at low prices, before the Portuguese displaced them (p. 81), is only one of those for which some support would have been welcome, and just why the growth of free villages represents protest and retaliation against the plantation rather than the grasping of a positive opportunity (p. 99) is never made entirely clear.

Altogether Chanderbali seems to dislike secondary sources. While he cites a number of them in his bibliography there are some surprising omissions, and sometimes he hardly seems to draw on those he does mention. He writes of slavery without mentioning the work of B.W. Higman and discusses apprenticeship without referring to W.A. Green, even in the bibliography. His comments on emancipation in Antigua, without benefit of source, suggest that he has not read Douglas Hall. And his avoidance of secondary sources may help to explain why he consistently fails to set developments in British Guiana in the context of the wider regional pattern of which they were an essential part.

Chanderbali has also failed to find a satisfactory organizational frame. Eschewing a straightforward chronological approach, he separates into three chapters Light's handling of the early political intrigues he encountered, his reactions to the aftermath of emancipation, and the immigration question. But these three problems were contemporaneous and endlessly interrelated, so that such a treatment could only succeed if the

chapters were closely cross-referenced. Chanderbali has not tried to cross-reference, and the result is that what he has written is not infrequently difficult to follow clearly. The 1840 Civil List dispute, for instance, is treated in two isolated contexts while both the first importation of Indian labor and immigration bounties end before the reader understands what they are.

This book contains much that is useful and some things that are new, but is often less than convincing. And it leaves a well-informed and thoroughly researched verdict on the totality of Governor Light's performance yet to be expounded.

Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism: Colonial Guyana 1838-1900. BRIAN L. MOORE. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press; Mona, Kingston: The Press-University of the West Indies, 1995. xv + 376 pp. (Cloth Can\$ 55.00)

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Brian L. Moore's *Cultural Power, Resistance and Pluralism* traces the cultural history of Guyana's people over the century following the abolition of slavery (circa 1838-1900). Art, cuisine, marriage, family and household, formal religions and other spiritual practices, community organizations, labor, leisure, law, and sport are treated in depth and with careful attention to the historical record in order to illuminate persistent patterns, sources and evidence of innovation and change, and people's adaptations and accommodations to the physical and social environment.

Moore's study addresses three compelling questions. First, how does a cultural elite, in this case inspired by British institutions and practices, manage to rule without direct physical coercion a majority population that neither shares the same cultural heritage nor stands any realistic chance of achieving economic wealth or social respectability? Moore's study is thus about the making of hegemony, about the ability of a handful of men to govern thousands of former slaves and indentured servants brought from India, Portugal, and China to work on the plantations after 1838 under appalling working and living conditions. Second, the volume explores how these subordinated peoples responded to the cultural impositions of the

elite, adapting some of their ideological, religious, educational, and leisurely practices, but dismissing others as irrelevant, impractical, or simply unattainable. Finally, Moore tests two competing anthropological paradigms, namely, "plural society" theory, first delineated for the Caribbean by M.G. Smith, and "creolization" theory, expounded by, among others, L. Braithwaite and R.T. Smith. Moore asks whether British Guiana is better understood according to plural society theory as comprised of compartmentalized ethnic enclaves, each with its own institutions, or, following creolization theory, as an integrated society consisting of creolized forms and practices.

Moore superbly accomplishes his first major objective of illuminating the character of the Guianese elite's *Weltanschauung* and the implements of power that rendered possible its cultural hegemony. Importantly, his conceptualization of "cultural power" encompasses both the ideas and conventions of the colonists who ruled and the "instruments of power" that enabled the elite to survey and control the masses while promoting their own cultural beliefs and institutions. Moore's definition of cultural power is compelling, including "both formal and informal authority systems representing the state, private institutions and individuals" (p. 3). Police violence, editorials, religious and educational teachings, invented traditions, and sports ethics are here more than subjects for the historical imagination; they are simultaneously "instruments of transmission" of culture and "the essence of power" (p. 3).

Moore's account of how subordinated men and women responded to the conditions they encountered is equally engaging, if occasionally given to overstatement about the nature and extent of people's resistance to domination. He uses diverse sources, including menus, tales, musical instruments, games, fashion, and architectural forms. These enable him to paint colorful and comprehensive portraits of peoples newly emancipated and newly arrived to Guiana's shores. We visit Afro-Creole cooperatives, rural Indian villages, Chinese secret societies, and Portuguese churches. Moore's writing is vivid; Guiana's streets, workplaces, homes, schools, and yards come alive in these pages. Periodically, however, fashionable rhetoric about "resistance" overly influences his interpretation of the meaning of social behaviors in the past. Labor strikes, "sassy talk," and an unwillingness to convert to Christianity can be read as actions to resist hegemony. Less convincing are claims that the desire to eat familiar foods or to decorate one's wife with jewelry also constitute resistance.

Finally, Moore's conclusion with regard to determining whether nineteenth-century British Guiana was a plural or an integrated society is certain to elicit controversy, for he argues that it was "both" or "neither,"

depending upon what period of time and which social group is under consideration. He finds British Guiana pluralistic immediately after emancipation, but less so by the turn of the century as forces of change break down barriers separating ethnic and racial enclaves. In addition, he surmises that the formation of indigenous, creole artifacts and traditions was largely the handiwork of Afro-Creoles. East Indians, in contrast, retained at length the customs of their homelands. Neither consensual nor pluralist theory, however, adequately accounts for the experiences of the Portuguese and Chinese in British Guiana.

Thinking about these competing paradigms as a continuum has heuristic value, as Moore suggests, but his "test" of the theories is marred by the fact that the text is organized in chapters that separately consider each ethnic or racial group without much attention to intra-class relations. Hence the very organization of the material predisposes Moore to "see" nineteenth-century British Guiana through the lenses of plural society theory and to conclude that it is "more relevant" (p. 306). Also, because we read about different groups in separate chapters, it is difficult to judge when and why the plural society gave way to an integrated one. The structure of the text may also cloud our view of the extent to which British Guiana's diverse peoples contributed to Guianese culture more generally and altered the structure and meaning of class, gender, and racial relations. "Indian Bhojpuri" culture, for example, created symbols and practices indigenous to the Americas; it also altered the place of women – Indian and non-Indian – in Guianese society.

These points notwithstanding, Moore's scholarly explication of the making of colonial hegemony, attention to how well-to-do and impoverished persons lived their lives a century ago, thoughtful treatment of the effects of demography, religion, and education on gender relations within different social groups, and new insights about the experiences of the Portuguese and Chinese communities highly recommend this study. The book includes provocative illustrations, and informative comparisons between British Guiana and other Caribbean colonies make the treatise relevant to all Caribbean historians.

A Question of Labour: Indentured Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana, 1875-1917. K.O. LAURENCE. Kingston: Ian Randle; London: James Currey, 1994. ix + 648 pp. (Cloth US\$ 55.00)

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This book is a valuable resource not only for anyone interested in a wide variety of issues relating to indentured migration from colonial India to colonial Trinidad and British Guiana, but also for those interested in imperial and colonial administration, and in sugar, slavery, emancipation, and the plantation mode of production in the British Caribbean and in comparative perspective. Indian indentured migration to the Caribbean began in 1837-38, soon after the abolition of slavery (1834), but before full emancipation (1838). Allegations of abuse in recruiting, transportation, and treatment of the migrants led the Colonial Office and the Indian Government, independently of one another, to suspend further emigration. The system was reinstated under government supervision, beginning in 1843 (to Mauritius) and 1845 (to British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica). It continued (indeed expanded, to include British, French, Dutch and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, Africa, the South Pacific, and the Indian Ocean), despite persistent opposition from a wide array of critics in India, Britain, and importing colonies, until 1917, when it was finally terminated.

Laurence's book covers the later, and as yet less-intensively researched years of Indian indentured migration, making it on this ground alone an important contribution to the historiography on the topic. This is enhanced by the remarkable exhaustiveness of Laurence's research in the vast, forbiddingly compartmentalized and far-flung imperial archives relating to this ambitious trans-colonial labor reallocation scheme. Laurence offers a wealth of important information: on the different political and discursive conditions prevailing in the two Caribbean colonies, starting with the participants in and processing of annual requisitions for indentured laborers; on the regulation of recruiters and recruitment in India and the implications for who the migrants were and where they came from; and on the conditions and legislative interventions for ensuring minimal mortality on the long voyage from India to the Caribbean. Laurence also gives fascinating details on topics relating to the enforcement of indenture, the apparatus of protection, financing and eventual abolition of the system, immigrants'

health, their social conditions, their rates of return to India, and settlement in the two Caribbean colonies.

In many ways, this book represents a response, exhaustively researched and documented, to *A New System of Slavery*, Hugh Tinker's negative and influential portrayal of the men and administrative apparatus responsible for ensuring and protecting migrants' rights and liberties as British subjects. Laurence argues that the documentation on Indian indentured migration

provides abundant testimony to the desire of both colonial and imperial authorities to achieve a system of labour which was free from oppression and abuse within the context of a contract to work for five years. Allegations of abuse and oppression from any source which carried weight were promptly and fully investigated and the shortcomings where they were clearly revealed were the subject of anxious consideration. (p. 17)

In focusing as narrowly as it does on colonial administrators' apparently relentless performance of paternal responsibility and regulation, Laurence's book gives the impression that administrative reform proceeded in a virtual vacuum contained within the walls and corridors of Government Houses in Calcutta, Madras, London, Port-of-Spain, and Georgetown. Plantation owners and supervisors appear in the book, but largely as the catalysts for imperial and colonial officials' interventions. Metropolitan and colonial anti-slavery activists' opposition and eventually uneven accommodation to indentured migration is given a single paragraph in this volume, although the activists were, by the administrators' own admission, important audiences to the latter's performance of responsible government. Voiced and also preserved in media and archives not routinely included in the administrative records he explores, such opposition is not readily discernible in these sources. Similarly, indentured migrants and the people (Afro- and Indo-Caribbean alike) often displaced by their introduction appear in *A Question of Labour* to have made little contribution to the discourses and administrative apparatus elaborated around them.

While the "voices" of laborers themselves are certainly largely absent from most of the archival sources Laurence examines, much interesting work has been done since the mid-1970s to try to understand the perspectives and interventions of the men and women written about, legislated for, and generally objectified in those administrative records. Whatever the intentions of their authors, these administrative reports, inquiries, and recommendations for reform represent the interests and agendas of imperial civil servants, who, heterogeneous on some level, were nonetheless far

from disinterested players in the empire to which they administered. A *Question of Labour* is thus invaluable more for the wealth of detail it makes accessible than for its methodological innovation.

REFERENCE

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On the March: Labour Rebellions in the British Caribbean, 1934-39.
O. NIGEL BOLLAND. Kingston: Ian Randle; London: James Curry, 1995. viii
+ 216 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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This wonderfully impressive book fills an important lacuna in Caribbean social and political history. The contagious series of worker disturbances that plagued the region during the 1930s constituted a crucial turning point in the political development of the modern Caribbean. It brought the recurring economic crises to a head, witnessed the official legal recognition of workers' unions, and eventually led to the formation of political parties based on universal adult suffrage. Indeed, the British Caribbean extended the vote to women before many Latin American countries. This period has been studied, but as a number of isolated cases of the various individual political units. Some of the publications have been memorably outstanding, especially the excellent work of Ken Post on Jamaica, Bridget Brereton and Kelvin Singh on Trinidad, and Walter Rodney on Guyana. Here, however, Bolland has skillfully integrated the rich, relevant secondary literature with extensive original archival research. The result is a marvelously nuanced context and a singularly persuasive regional treatment that enormously expands our appreciation of those events within the social, cultural, political, and economic history of the Caribbean. Despite its restriction to the British Caribbean, this work represents a major contribution to the general historiography of the region.

Unlike most scholars dealing with the popular unrest of the 1930s,

Bolland ranges both temporally and spatially. He first explores the interesting range of historical antecedents and explains the degree to which those early disturbances were isolated and coincidentally spontaneous events. The occurrences of the 1930s were not phenomenal, but they were extremely important. Furthermore, he argues that the riots of the 1930s were different both in degree and in kind. Second, he compares the various episodes, showing that within territories as well as across the region individuals and groups were keenly aware of the activities of others, and conscious of their own protests. In this sense, there was a natural coincidence of interests and a common denouement politically, although not simultaneously, in all the territories involved. Thirdly, Bolland connects the local events to the wider international political and economic picture and meticulously documents how economic conditions in the larger Atlantic World helped trigger the contagious strikes in many of the territories, and how the timely and interested intervention of the Fabian wing of the British Labour Party strongly influenced the evolution of the structure of organized labor unions as well as the fledgling political parties that emerged in the late 1930s and early 1940s, thereby beginning the initial hesitant steps toward full political independence. The signal achievement of this fascinating study is the powerful way in which the research is logically developed and the results clearly presented in an incontrovertible case for a genuinely Caribbean-wide worker consciousness. Moreover, Bolland manages to escape the tiresome and intellectually bankrupt argument that the strongest explanatory factors for Caribbean social and economic activities lie in the indelible legacy of slavery and the plantation.

"The period 1880-1930," writes Bolland in the conclusion to the first part of the book, "was not a dead time for labour history in the British Caribbean. On the contrary, it was a period marked by great, if erratic, activity on the part of working people. It was during this half century that developing race and class consciousness prepared the way for the formation of an active working class with its own labour organisations" (p. 40). Of course, varying local working conditions seriously inhibited either longevity on the part of the early trade organizations or regional appeal in the growth of the labor movement. Yet the early activity helped lay the foundation for the later period when trade unions won legal identification as well as some measure of political voice.

Three interrelated factors accounted for the success of labor organizations in the 1930s. In the first place, the world depression of the early 1930s accentuated the economic plight of all basic export producers. At a time when most Caribbean populations still depended largely on agricultural activities for their primary employment, commodity prices fell, and

wages fell even faster. "Endemic unemployment and underemployment, resulting in widespread and persistent poverty, became suddenly worse in the 1930s" (p. 191). Yet the economic complaints were not the only cause of widespread discontent. Caribbean populations had been organized, politicized, radicalized, and energized by a number of movements during the inter-war years, foremost among them being Garveyism and Marxism. Many of the new leaders had considerable political experience abroad – in Europe as war veterans between 1914 and 1918, or as workers throughout Central America, Cuba, and the United States. They had returned to their home countries with strengthened convictions about racial self-respect, human dignity, and human rights. As Bolland points out, in many cases economic issues formed only a part – and not necessarily the principal issue – in many of the strikes and other worker actions of the period. Finally there was the local administrative system. Colonial administrators acted unimaginatively within a time-bound but narrowly constrained set of options, described as "police action" (p. 196). Designed to maintain a supply of cheap and coerced labor for a capitalist system, the various colonial administrators were powerless when the capitalist system collapsed. Their hastily developed programs of long-term relief and general welfare did not address the fundamental issues of appropriate wages commensurate with the labor involved, much less human dignity and human rights. Indeed, the issue was poignantly expressed in a beautiful quotation from George Lamming that is partly repeated at the end of the book: "There were very violent moments, but more important than the violence was the creation of a confidence in very ordinary people that they could and should be heard by those who were called authority" (p. 200).

Producing Power: Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in a Caribbean Workplace. KEVIN A. YELVINGTON. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995. xv + 286 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95, Paper US\$ 24.95)

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Yelvington's central thesis is that power and production are closely inter-related and that any understanding of the importance of ethnicity, class, and gender must somehow be situated within the material and productive

conditions that have shaped them. The study attempts, reasonably successfully, to interrogate the social matrix of power as it manifests itself in the context of a Trinidadian factory. Chapter 1 is a fairly informative review of the literature. Yelvington focuses on the social relations of work of male and female factory employees, drawing attention to the intersection of race, gender, and power on the shopfloor. The factory's shopfloor is made up of black and Indian women while "all the supervisors are men, most of them white, whose authority is established by their formal position within the firm" (p. 1).

Producing power for Yelvington means mapping the terrain between agency and structure. Though his analysis is mostly rooted in a materialist framework of the mode of production, he is nonetheless influenced by Michel Foucault in terms of his conceptualization of the various categories of power and the way power is contested. He argues that "Power is relational, structural, definitional, historical, and cultural" (p. 15).

In his second chapter Yelvington essentially surveys the historical role of labor, especially female labor, under slavery and indentureship as well as in the early phases of industrialization. He also details the efforts of industrialization in Trinidad since 1950, with special emphasis on the period of the oil boom and its collapse.

Producing Power examines the social relations of production at Essential Utensils Ltd., the fictitious name for the real factory Yelvington studied during 1986-87. At EUL, wages are much lower than in other comparable factories (pp. 112-13) and female labor is generally paid less than male labor (p. 112). Workers are also acutely aware of the convergence of ethnicity and power in the formal structure of the workplace. Chapter 3 "The Site of Production: A Trinidadian Factory," gives a taste of the nature of social relations at the point of production; however, Yelvington could have provided more insight into the ways in which these relations are structured by practices of power. One gets more of a sense of how relations at work are mediated by considerations of age, religion, and feelings of camaraderie.

Though Yelvington does well to demonstrate the role of race in the psyche of Trinidadian society, he does not push the analysis far enough to fashion a framework for understanding why the misgivings between ethnic groups emerge, how they are reproduced, and why in the context of modernity they persist. Nor does he suggest ways of addressing these problems. He spends more time dealing with racial/ethnic stereotypes than providing insight into the behavior of some people.

Yelvington's chapter on ethnicity at work is quite good. However, he sometimes strays too far from the focus of the book, which is to explain the

way power mediates relations of production. His work occasionally loses its political focus. Chapter 5 "Gender at Work," is also a good analysis of the social relations at work. His rethinking of the respectability/honor, male/female dichotomies is quite perceptive. In this chapter he also provides an important discussion of sexual harassment at the workplace, though he may overstate the case for flirting as a form of resistance. This flirting between female workers and supervisors is at best only a form of passive resistance. It is not capable of altering the power dynamics of work, even though it may appear to provide a measure of relief for the subordinated. The problem here is that often one form of oppression is replaced by another.

In his final chapter, "Class at Work," Yelvington remonstrates against romanticizing resistance and discusses the ways workers at EUL employ informal strategies to assist them in reproducing themselves. He also argues that class practice in the factory represented ways of negotiating different forms of closure, with the more powerful dictating the terms of any class conflict (p. 223). The focus of this chapter notwithstanding, in the analysis of the triumvirate of race, class, and gender, "class" represents the weakest link.

Producing Power is an eminently readable text. It offers fresh theoretical insights into some important aspects of the workplace. Perhaps in the end, it is an overly ambitious project in which power remains somewhat problematic, not always rooted in the labor process, and sometimes overshadowed by poststructuralist preoccupations with resistance and non-essentialism.

Puerto Rican Women and Work: Bridges in Transnational Labor. ALTAGRACIA ORTÍZ (ed.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996. xi + 249 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95, Paper US\$ 19.95)

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Latina/os are quickly becoming the largest population among people of color in the United States, sharing a common history of conquest and colonialization, migration and immigration, racism, and marginalization within the dominant culture. Often viewed as homogeneous, Latina/os

differ widely in their racial and cultural legacies and in their relationships with the Caribbean and Central and South America. Within each ethnic group, identities derive from place of origin and geographical mobility as well as class, race, and gender. Over the past few years, debates about Latina/o identity have intensified among both scholars and journalists. On one side are those who homogenize (and, thus, "commodify") Latina/o identities (commonly non-Latina/o journalists). On the other side are those who examine closely the elements within each society – race, class, and gender – that polarize and problematize an analysis of collective cultures. Finally, there are those (including the contributors to the volume under review) who focus on "transnational" societies, paying particular attention to the ways in which Latina/os struggle to survive in often hostile environments on the borderlands between cultures where they challenge traditional roles within family networks and work environments and transform metropolitan "mainstream" cultures. *Puerto Rican Women and Work*, a collection of essays derived from Women's Studies workshops held at the University of Puerto Rico, argues that the global movement of workers links the "here" of island society with the "there" of external communities, blurring national boundaries. More importantly, it asserts that the migratory "bridge" between two nations is carried on women's "backs." A valuable resource for Women's Studies, Labor Studies, and Puerto Rican/Latina/o Studies, *Puerto Rican Women and Work* offers significant insight into the historical roots of Puerto Rican women's struggle for equity from the early days of industrial capitalism in Puerto Rico to contemporary trade unionizing in the 1990s.

Puerto Ricans currently comprise the largest Latina/o population in the city of New York and the poorest of all "minority" groups within the United States. Puerto Rican neighborhoods in the mid-Atlantic region have grown considerably in the past thirty years. So, too, have Puerto Rican communities in the Midwest, Southeast, West, and most recently, Florida, where middle-class Puerto Ricans seek expanded upward mobility and escape from the island's spiraling crime rate. While social science researchers and literary critics tend to examine Puerto Rican life from the vantage point of New York's urban *barrios*, few offer penetrating views of outlying communities, and even fewer provide in-depth studies of the richly multicultural, multinational fabric of Puerto Rico's island society. *Puerto Rican Women and Work* follows the established "model": studies of Puerto Rican migrant women's experiences focus on New York where Puerto Ricans are most highly concentrated, and to a lesser extent in the surrounding states of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. While it examines the lives of garment workers, teachers, clerical workers, and the unemployed

largely through the lens of economic theory with the goal of providing an "historical portrait" of a "strong work ethic" (Ortíz, p. i), the book omits many growing developments in Puerto Rico as well as on the mainland: the expansion of the informal economy, the growth of "bicultural/bi-national" identities (such as Puerto Rican-Dominican *barrios*), and the preponderance of (poorer, darker-skinned, and often undocumented) female migrant labor in domestic service in Puerto Rico. One should not overlook that in Puerto Rico today other "transnational bridges" affect female labor and relationships between women. Not only do Dominican, Haitian, and West Indian women from the Lesser Antilles interact (and intermarry) with Puerto Ricans but they also perform low-wage jobs that many Puerto Rican women refuse to perform. Because of their involvement in domestic labor, selling in the informal economy, and low-wage service jobs in Puerto Rico, their exclusion from an analysis of women's labor raises questions of cultural authority, especially in regard to the "homogenization" of a Puerto Rican identity.

One hopes that Puerto Rican feminist studies will explore critical questions concerning not only *how* women are represented but also *which* of them are represented, for under the rubric of "Puerto Rican women," we must also place elite women, first- and second-generation migrants in Puerto Rico, and Puerto Rican women in communities outside the East coast. Especially lacking is the issue of women's exploitation of other women within consumer societies. *Puerto Rican Women and Work* is, thus, more reform than radical in its approach to feminism. Still, *Puerto Rican Women and Work* heightens our knowledge of the effects of migration on the island's economy and sheds important light on contemporary issues in public policy regarding welfare, job training, and employment.

The book follows an historical chronology. The lead essay by Eileen Boris, "Needlewomen under the New Deal in Puerto Rico, 1920-1945," examines the living conditions of needleworkers in the 1930s when most women earned less than a dollar a week while the price of foodstuffs (80 percent imported) shot up. She shows how needlepoint unions on the island strove to raise the pay of home shopworkers at a time when state-side unions regarded homeworkers as unorganizable. In her analysis of the effects of government policy, she explains that while the NRA's provisions attempted to set rules of fair competition through collective bargaining, minimum wage, and maximum hour provisions, subcontractors constantly violated the rules. She traces the experiences of needlepoint workers up to the 1950s when the Commonwealth's push for higher wages led manufacturers to seek cheap labor in other countries.

Altagracia Ortíz's "Puerto Rican Women in the Garment Industry of

New York City, 1920-1980," highlights the negative views of employers and union leaders toward Puerto Rican workers. Building on the early work of Herbert Hill, she points out several factors that led to the loss of jobs in the 1960s-70s. Virginia Sánchez Korrol's study of bilingual education in New York City schools relates the roles of substitute auxiliary teachers in the 1950s and of parents' efforts to improve education for Spanish-speaking children.

Alice Colón-Warren's essay on unemployment in the mid-Atlantic region in the 1970-80 period argues that the segregation of labor by gender, race, and national origin "not only creates employment for some and joblessness for others but also leads to the succession of workers into particular job spheres, thus maintaining an available labor reserve for positions of different ranks and income levels," the overall effect of which is to limit "the possibility of employment of all workers and drives down earnings throughout the total employment structure" (p. 112). She traces changes in New York's commercial to financial economy which generated increased automation and the growth of scientific, technical, and service sectors. An economy in need of better educated workers had little interest in Puerto Rican women whose lower levels of education led them into clerical and sales jobs at a time when white women abandoned these jobs for higher-paying ones. Colón-Warren's analysis questions whether the informal economy allows families to survive on lower earnings; concurrently, it provides vital insight into the role of welfare benefits in perpetuating "peripheral labor" and subsidies "for employers in lower-paying job spheres" (p. 113). Her research responds to pressing questions regarding the departure of Puerto Rican women from the labor force at a time when other Latina/os are entering into it.

These questions are pursued in Rosa M. Torruellas, Rina Benmayor, and Ana Juarbe's "Negotiating Gender, Work, and Welfare: *Familia* as Productive Labor among Puerto Rican Women in New York City," which analyzes concepts of identity, community, and cultural citizenship. Their study of unemployed women in East Harlem argues that there is "an artificial division between wage labor and housework" (p. 188). Going beyond the work of Euro-American socialist feminists, they reach new ground in analyzing welfare as a productive mechanism which helps to maintain community. This is feminist scholarship at its best, astutely intersecting issues of poverty, community, and cultural authority and offering provocative insight into motherhood as productive labor. Through the words of poor women which are interwoven in their analysis, we learn of unemployed women's capacity to negotiate "interconnected arenas in their lives" (p. 180) while contributing to community-building. Oral

history is, thus, a liberating tool with powerful political implications. The essay is particularly valuable for its insistence that community-initiated solutions to poverty lie at the core of successful entitlement programs.

Carmen A. Pérez-Herranz discusses factory hierarchies in a U.S.-based manufacturing company in "Our Two Full Time Jobs: Women Garment Workers Balance Factory and Domestic Demands in Puerto Rico." Mayra Muñoz-Vázquez documents women's leadership roles in the Guanajibo-Castillo movement against industrial pollutants in "Gender and Politics: Grassroots Leadership among Puerto Rican Women in a Health Struggle." She notes that due to the failure of the Environment Protection Agency (EPA) and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to protect the environment and people of Puerto Rico, more than ninety communities have organized against industrial pollution produced by sources ranging from nuclear power plants to refineries and hazardous waste sites.

Geraldine J. Casey's "New Tappings on the Keys: Changes in Work and Gender Roles for Women Clerical Workers in Puerto Rico" adds to growing research into Caribbean women's strategies for upward advancement. Her study focuses on two competing clerical organizations at the University of Puerto Rico: La Hermandad de Empleados Exentos No Docente (HEEND) (the Brotherhood of Exempt, Non-Teaching Employees) and the Professional Secretaries International (PSI). She explains that, in contrast to HEEND clerical workers who "challenged dominant ideologies and expectations about women," (p. 212) PSI stressed "technical skills and professional clothing styles as vehicles to career advancement" (p. 213).

Casey employs an historical perspective to show that while clerical work grew steadily in the 1970s and 1980s as electronics, communications, and financial industries began to dominate Puerto Rico's economy, job placement is now precarious. Thousands, undaunted, continue to seek computer training in technical schools (profiting from federally guaranteed student loans) to become secretaries. In this intricate study of women's perceptions of white-collar work, Casey shows how gender ideologies shape the daily work process while encouraging "women to view other women as competitors and sexual predators" (p. 218). Racial categories, which are "fluid, contextual, and based on self-perception" (p. 224), have been affected by the shift to a service economy, creating new bases for racial discrimination at work. She notes that darker-skinned women are concentrated in the lowest economic strata while higher-status white collar positions are dominated by light-skinned women. Considering the growth of Dominican labor in Puerto Rico, one might reasonably assume that increased racialization has wide ranging, damaging effects on their

ability to become integral members of the Puerto Rican community at large.

As one of the first to examine racial and gender ideologies in Puerto Rican women's perceptions of work, Casey adds an important chapter to feminist labor studies and helps to illustrate Altagracia Ortíz's main contention: that in today's world, boundaries are permeable, community is ambulatory, and women's identities, fluid. In courses in economics, Women's Studies, Latina/o Studies, and Caribbean Studies, this collection can help stimulate vital debate on the very nature of gender identities in borderland communities.

Women of Belize: Gender and Change in Central America. IRMA MCCLAURIN. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996. x + 218 pp. (Cloth US\$ 48.00, Paper US\$ 16.95)

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Women have been much neglected in the literature on Belize. This book is a welcome addition through its portrayal of individual women's consciousness and experience of gender struggle in grassroots women's organizations. McClaurin develops a concept of gender as not just "analytical construct or structural form" but as a *culture* in the sense of "a pervasive set of obligations and limitations that saturate the entire being and make up one's identity" (p. 21). Key features of the Belizean culture of gender include the symbolic representation of women as minors and property, an endemic "economic-sexual cycle" (pattern of serial monogamy in which women exchange sex and childbearing for unstable economic support), a historical sexual division of labor that limits women's opportunities and autonomy, and male physical and psychological abuse of women as a strategy to elicit their compliance. McClaurin's interest is in analyzing the ways in which this culture of gender interacts dialectically with social structure and institutions to create the conditions for female empowerment and change.

McClaurin employs a research strategy combining micro- (emic) and macro- (etic) perspectives. Three oral narratives form the centerpiece of the ethnographic chapters, reflecting her focus on women's consciousness

and strategies; these are interwoven with chapters devoted to Belizean history and demography, and to analysis of the social, political, and economic institutions through which gender ideology and female subordination are expressed. She considers this "multilayering" of narrative perspective necessary because "[l]ife stories without social and historical context are meaningless ... while structural models of society devoid of the individual perspective provide only partial insights into the workings of a particular society" (p. 190).

The reader views the culture of gender through the life stories of three women representing different ethnic groups – "Rose" (Garifuna), "Zola" (East Indian), and "Evelyn" (Creole). The women live in the town of "Lemongrass" in the southernmost Toledo District, where Ketchi and Mopan Maya form a majority, although no representative of this most marginalized cultural group is included here. Each woman's story is edited to reflect the commonalities in their movement from gendered dependency and oppression to personal empowerment and political action. All three achieve a measure of economic independence, Rose in the informal economy, Zola through acquisition of a plot of land, and Evelyn as a petty entrepreneur. All three are active in women's groups in Lemongrass, reflecting the author's admitted "bias towards activism." Their stories are presented in the form of a dialogue with McClaurin, who intervenes frequently with her own observations and interpretations. Although these interventions repeatedly interrupt the narrative flow, they help to impose analytic comparability on the individual stories which otherwise follow the women's own emphases and chronology. In highlighting her own identity as an African-American woman within the research context, McClaurin acknowledges the influence of recent feminist ethnography in endorsing a dialogic and reflexive approach.

The theoretical focus on gender is both illuminating and limiting as an approach to understanding the potential for social change. The contradictions inherent in gender institutions and culture are clearly revealed through the women's growth in awareness and their challenges to the system that oppresses them. However, refracted through the lens of gendered power relations within the home, the interactions of gender with other institutionalized power structures, notably class, remain blurred. In part this is because Rose and Zola and Evelyn function mostly in the informal sector or within the confines of the household, and this has the effect of concealing the effects of class. But even when Evelyn joins the ranks of temporary domestic workers in the United States, her decisions seem largely determined by her relations with her husband, while her relations with employers or other agents of global capitalism remain out of focus.

Yet class and gender power are inextricably intertwined at all levels of the system, including those of the household. The chronic alcoholism and womanizing behavior of the male partners in these stories is the other face of a system which simultaneously reinforces the individualistic and self-serving culture of machismo even while it renders some men powerless to uphold their side of the economic-sexual bargain. Without change in the institutions that support patriarchy, men are unlikely to change their consciousness or their behavior toward women in the home. One wonders whether the inclusion of case studies of men would create a less partial understanding. Nonetheless, McClaurin's basic point is important: the potential for change lies in changed consciousness and grassroots action, and the culture of gender is the dominant frame through which women experience the world. But a wider-angle lens will be necessary to understand how change in the power structure supporting male dominance can be realized.

Living with the Puerto Rico Shore. DAVID M. BUSH, RICHARD M.T. WEBB, LISBETH HYMAN, JOSÉ GONZALEZ LIBOY & WILLIAM J. NEAL. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995. xx + 193 pp. (Cloth US\$ 42.50, Paper US\$ 17.95)

Environment and Development in the Caribbean: Geographical Perspectives. DAVID BARKER & DUNCAN F.M. MCGREGOR (eds.) Mona, Kingston: The Press-University of the West Indies, 1995. xv + 304 pp. (Paper J\$ 425.00)

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The saga of Montserrat late in the 1990s calls attention to its seismic similarity with other islands of the Lesser Antilles, notably St. Lucia and St. Vincent. Combine this concern with the region's hurricane vulnerability, and one understands why the popular perception of the Caribbean as an earthly paradise of surf, sun, and sand is now modified by a darker view of the region's recurring natural hazards. These contrasting viewpoints, shared in all probability by the majority of non-academics from outside the region, focus almost entirely on the Caribbean's physical geographical characteristics, viewpoints that differ from the themes of much of the cul-

tural and historical research about the region. Geographers and planners of the Caribbean, recognizing the merit of both perspectives, emphasize that cultural and environmental views might be profitably intertwined. Conservation issues, resource problems, and questions about economic sustainability all depend on a clear understanding of environmental issues. And the Caribbean's enduring sociocultural themes, whether they involve ethnic asymmetries, power relations, or uneven development, have all unfolded on the soils, hillsides, and coastlines of the region's islands and rimlands.

The aptly-titled *Living with the Puerto Rican Shore* involves little self-reflection as to how it fits in with studies of the Caribbean or other studies of Puerto Rico itself. The volume is one of a score of books in the Duke University Press' "Living with the Shore" series, all of the others dealing with shoreline problems of the United States mainland. One of the series' editors, Orrin H. Pilkey, Jr. has attracted a well-deserved following for his thorough, insistent research in coastal geomorphology, which demonstrates the ultimately destructive results of establishing fixed shoreline barriers. Pilkey's work, doubtless a thorn in the sides of the purveyors of beachfront property and resort developers, is reflected throughout the volume. The book also has a distinctly American tone as well as a slightly innocent flavor; an early remark, for example, that "coastal hazards are not enough to deter the millions of people who enjoy life in a tropical climate" (p. 8) would doubtless come as a surprise to tropical coastal dwellers in, say, Guyana or Bangladesh.

The book has seven chapters. The first four discuss shoreline land-forming processes, the ways in which human activities can alter those processes, and other potential hazards and disasters. The other three chapters are practical guides on the proper ways to select building sites, evaluate levels of risk, and understand existing coastal regulations. The three appendixes at the end reinforce the book's applied character. They offer a hurricane checklist, a list of relevant U.S. and (mainly) Puerto Rican government agencies that deal with coastal problems, and a topical reading list of additional references in lieu of a conventional bibliography. The rectangular shape of the book itself, along with its many line drawings and black-and-white photos, suggests similarity with an engineering or consultant's report. And some of the book's subheadings e.g., "How Can I Tell If My Beach Is Eroding?" confirm that it is not intended for the average Puerto Rican. (Answer: "One should consult experts for a final evaluation," pp. 24-25.)

Perhaps the key word in the book's title is "with" because it underlines the necessity to acknowledge a human-shoreline symbiosis rather than

attempting human mastery of coastal processes. The list of "Guiding Principles" that appears on page 47 emphasizes, among other things, planning, possible relocation of dwellings, and the ultimate futility of attempting to fight natural processes using artificial means: "Walls of various kinds either directly or indirectly cause loss of beaches everywhere they are built – whether in New Jersey, California, or Puerto Rico" (p. 45).

These general points come to life in Chapter 6 (the book's longest, with 70 pages) where the Puerto Rico shore (along with Vieques) is divided into 33 sections. Each coastal section is illustrated with a large-scale map and several photographs; in the discussions of each small coastal area, subsections, some as small as one kilometer in width, are classified in terms of erosional risk (Extreme, High, Moderate, or Low). Throughout the discussion, the authors are adamant in condemning both the erection of artificial barriers and the illicit though widespread removal or mining of sand. Pithy summaries, furthermore, capture the character of particular coastal areas of the island and specify how the shorelines there have been maintained or misused. Along the southwestern coast in the Municipio de Patillas, for example, lies an "abused shoreline" where "A hodgepodge of seawalls has been built by individual property owners at great expense. Although this area was well away from Hugo's direct impact in 1989, flooding, erosion, and overwash occurred, illustrating the high-risk character of this shoreline" (p. 74-75).

The regionwide relevance of *Living with the Puerto Rico Shore* is obvious, although the authors make no such claim. Indeed, one of the better articles in *Environment and Development in the Caribbean*, edited by David Barker and Duncan McGregor, deals with the complexities of attempting to develop part of the Barbadian coastline. The article's three authors note, as they tell about the mixed results of extending groynes into the ocean to enhance beach accretion, that thermal effluent from the electricity generating plant on Barbados' southwestern coast has created serious offshore problems; their careful study, in which the water's temperature and chemical composition have been monitored and graphed, shows that "there is a virtually dead reef directly offshore from the outfall, near the edge of the thermal plume" (p. 33).

The sixteen articles in the Barker and McGregor book are amplified versions of papers selected from a larger number given at the British-Caribbean Geography Seminar, held in the Department of Geography at the Mona, Jamaica, campus of the University of the West Indies in August 1992. The book's rationale is to present papers that focus simultaneously on human and environmental systems because the "central issue" facing the Caribbean region and its peoples as they enter the twenty-first century

is "how to achieve sustainable development" (p. xiii). Although the volume emphasizes geography and both editors are geographers, the contributing authors also include economists, sociologists, biologists, geologists, and planners. The majority of the papers deal with the English-speaking Caribbean.

The book's entries range widely in subject matter, from a description of the limestone "blue holes" of the Bahamas (Neil E. Sealey) to a discussion of the possibility of Jamaica's cockpit country being designated a World Heritage Site (L. Alan Eyre). Two of the volume's better papers demonstrate that "environment" is defined here in its broadest sense. Geographers Alison J. Reading and Rory P.D. Walsh discuss the frequency and intensity of tropical cyclone activity in the Caribbean since 1500, relying on conventional meteorological reports as well as historical records. They divide the Caribbean into a series of map grids that they then use to discuss regional variations in hurricane intensities and periodizations. In a very different kind of paper comparing tourism development in Bermuda and St. Martin, economist Jerome L. McElroy and sociologist Klaus de Albuquerque employ a "resort cycle formulation" model developed by R.W. Butler. They show how Bermuda has maintained high (if exclusive) tourism standards by limiting growth in contrast with the reckless sprawl in St. Martin that has transformed part of the island into a "veritable tourist slum" (p. 82), a designation that will surprise few of those who have visited or changed planes there in the past two decades.

Although the Barker and McGregor reader emphasizes "geographical perspectives" (the volume's subtitle), some of the entries could have been stronger if their authors had sought environmental or ecological information in non-geographical sources; geographers have no more monopoly over the environment than anthropologists do in studying people or historians in assessing the past. The book's thin, lightly-documented entry dealing with Guyana's drainage and irrigation projects, for example, would have been far more substantial had it drawn on the scholarship of non-geographers such as Alan Adamson, Walter Rodney, Raymond Smith, Allan Young, and others whose work has heightened our appreciation of the evolution of the human geography of the Guyanese coastal plain. And nowhere in the Barker and McGregor volume is there a reference to the wonderful volume edited by (English professor) John Murray (1991), which should probably be a starting point for any environmental research in the Caribbean.

REFERENCE

MURRAY, JOHN A. (ed.), 1991. *The Island and the Sea: Five Centuries of Nature Writing from the Caribbean*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ideology and Caribbean Integration. IAN BOXILL. Mona, Kingston: The Press-University of the West Indies, 1993. xiii + 128 pp. (Paper n.p.)

Distant Cousins: The Caribbean-Latin American Relationship. ANTHONY T. BRYAN & ANDRÉS SERBIN (eds.). Miami: North-South Center Press, 1996. iii + 132 pp. (Paper US\$ 19.95)

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Ideology and Caribbean Integration is the first in the New Generation Series of the University of the West Indies Press which publishes the works of young scholars studying at UWI's Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences. In this work, Boxill explores why the regional movement in the Caribbean has been plagued with so many difficulties. After discounting most of the contemporary explanations, he argues rather persuasively that the integration movement in the Caribbean is weak and unstable because of the absence of a coherent ideology of regionalism. He begins by presenting the historical evolution of regionalism in the Caribbean, concentrating on the conceptual as well as structural problems facing CARICOM. He then buttresses his argument by presenting the findings of an attitude survey on regionalism among the economic, political, and cultural elites in Jamaica and St. Lucia. He believes that the attitudes expressed in the survey reflect the elites' ideologies. From his survey, Boxill found no ideology of regionalism, only a weak and diffused regionalist sentiment.

Boxill argues that the writings of Caribbean scholars on integration have concentrated too much on the economic aspects. Boxill believes the emphasis should be on the non-material variables, especially ideology. He argues that "for the regional integration system to develop and sustain itself it must also be guided by an ideology which promotes regionalism" (p. 29). He makes a valid point that this ideology (and not just a regional

sentiment) must be diffused through political and economic institutions, in the values and attitudes of the relevant actors, and in the policies at both the regional and national levels.

Boxill's argument is quite cogent when he notes that difficulties of integration are due in part to differences of opinion as to what development should mean in the Caribbean, as well as to what role the Caribbean should play in international affairs. He notes that "instead of the crises in the world economy sparking a sense of solidarity in CARICOM, it weakens it, reflecting in part the lack of agreement on what development strategy to pursue, thus exposing their vulnerability to the ups and downs of the global economy" (p. 57). Because these differences of opinion are not resolved, regional integration comes to be seen as a technical and administrative matter, which redounds to the benefit of economic elites.

Boxill is on less firm ground with his attitude survey, largely because it is questionable that his indicators are really measuring regionalism. For instance, he asks his respondents whether they would accept as Prime Minister/President someone born in another country in the region (pp. 82-83). In order to see the full range of his questions, a copy of the survey appended to the text would have been helpful. His argument may be valid that for the region to develop an ideology of regionalism, the hegemony of the United States and the United Kingdom will have to be countered, but his recommendations as to how this can be accomplished (for example, by strengthening mass communication within the region, and developing Caribbean music further) are weak and not fully developed. Yet Boxill's work represents a good beginning by reminding us of the importance of ideology in understanding integration in the region.

According to the arguments presented by most of the contributors in Bryan and Serbin's *Distant Cousins*, inculcating an ideology of regionalism will become even more important to the survival of the English-speaking Caribbean, as these countries face a changing geopolitics and begin to form alliances with the larger countries of Latin America. The aim of this volume is to explore the level of interaction and cooperation between the two areas. The issues covered are wide-ranging, but the level of discourse is appropriate for those new to the debates.

In the first chapter, Andrés Serbin suggests that the relationship between the two groups of countries has strengthened and a new view of regionalism is developing. Readers are at a disadvantage because regionalism is never defined in this volume. This is one of the ways in which a framework provided by the editors would have been helpful. Serbin notes that this growing interest in regionalism became apparent as the end of the Cold War brought increased fears by the Caribbean of eventual marginali-

zation from the international economic system, and fears by Latin American countries (especially the G-3 countries of Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela) of regional instability. But Serbin sees a problem looming, and that is the reaction of Caribbean countries when they perceive their diminishing capacity (because of size and economic precariousness) to lead this process of regional integration.

In a chapter on national identity and race, Francine Jacome reminds us that racial prejudice exists in both regions. She argues that throughout the national period in Latin America, national identity was conceived as a process of forging ethnic and cultural uniformity. Thus, in those Latin American societies with appreciable black populations, blacks were largely ignored in the formulation of national political projects. In the Caribbean, also, there was an emphasis on a national unity that sought to transcend ethnic and racial interests, although without abandoning a marked preference for people of African descent. One might argue, then, that such different racial and ethnic realities can lead to great difficulties as Latin America and the Caribbean try to form alliances with each other.

In a review of Latin American and Caribbean literary images of each other, Lulu Gimenez Saldivia demonstrates some of these difficulties, as she finds that perceptions of the Other are still at an embryonic stage and often condemnatory. Since the 1960s this situation seems to be changing as a result of contacts being consolidated. But the literary image that seems to hold great cultural relevance for both groups is that of miscegenation. This would suggest that in literary images, at least, there is a preference for a mingling of peoples, rather than an acceptance of ethnic and racial pluralism. The chapters by Jacome and Saldivia help us to understand the importance that Boxill places on the non-material aspects of regionalism.

In two separate chapters, Christopher Thomas and Henry Gill suggest that the creation in 1994 of the Association of Caribbean States has the potential of representing the most direct and intense level of cooperation between CARICOM and Latin America. Gill notes that while CARICOM initiated the creation of ACS, there is the possibility of a shift in the center of gravity away from CARICOM. The lack of compatibility of institutions and practices makes him wonder whether deepening the regional matrix is possible, or whether we are simply seeing a widening. Especially troubling to him is the fact that discussions leading to the development of ACS centered less on conceptual issues, and more on technical and procedural issues. In the Epilogue, Bryan brings us back to Boxill's concern that the greatest task will be "to forge into the consciousness of the people of the Caribbean and Latin America the imperative and the advantage of think-

ing and acting as one region, as the best and perhaps the only way to pursue and secure their respective aspirations" (p.125).

Caribbean Theology: Preparing for the Challenges Ahead. HOWARD GREGORY (ed.). Mona, Kingston: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies, 1995. xx + 118 pp. (Paper J\$ 400.00, EC\$ 27.00, US\$ 9.95, £7.00)

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This timely collection explores critical issues facing theological education in the West Indies, with special attention to the current status and content of Caribbean theology. Contributors represent a number of mainstream Protestant traditions (Anglican, Moravian, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian) and approach their topics from a variety of specializations (Biblical Studies, Church History, Social Sciences, Pastoral Care, and Christian Education). Howard Gregory, who is the president of the United Theological College of the West Indies, has done an exemplary job of representing the diversity of theological opinion at the conference as well as highlighting some common concerns of participants. All participants, Gregory points out, acknowledged a pressing need to address practical aspects of pastoral care and to identify priorities specific to the Caribbean region. In addition, all participants underscored the need for renewed commitment to the task of developing and teaching an "authentic" Caribbean theology, although there is considerable disagreement as to exactly what an "authentic" Caribbean theology should be.

Gregory has also provided a brief and informative overview of earlier Caribbean conferences that addressed issues relating to ministerial training. He offers a valuable and balanced assessment of the important 1964 conference sponsored by the World Council of Churches which culminated in the founding of the United Theological College of the West Indies in 1965. While judicious in his treatment of the history of theological education in the West Indies, he maintains a critical stance toward European and North American influences. He asks: Are the patterns of theological education established elsewhere in the world adequate to meet the needs of contemporary Caribbean peoples? Do these patterns represent Caribbean religious experience or are they merely a perpetuation

of colonialism? His position does not reflect changes in contemporary theological education in North America or Europe. The valuable insights to be gained from Third World perspectives have been incorporated into the curriculum at leading seminaries throughout the world. Ironically, a major barrier to the establishment of an "authentic" Caribbean theology may be that at any given time many of the most eminent Caribbean theologians are themselves teaching in Canada, the United States, or Europe.

Gregory organized this volume following the sequence of presentations and activities at the conference itself. The first chapter consists of a provocative keynote address by Adolfo Ham who reflects on his thirty years of service to churches in Cuba. Ham seeks to define the challenges faced by Caribbean churches in the twenty-first century and proposes changes in seminary curriculum in order to meet these challenges. His presentation is followed by responses by Gerard Boodhoo and Ashley Smith. Chapters 4, 7, and 10 consist of transcripts of Burchell Taylor's daily Bible lessons. Especially noteworthy is Taylor's sensitive, insightful, and well-argued exegesis of Paul's letter to Philemon. Paul's letter is particularly problematic for African-Americans because it deals with the return of a slave to his master and has been incorrectly interpreted as providing a justification for slavery. Theresa Lowe-Ching's "Methodology in Caribbean Theology" meticulously examines the significance of a number of pioneers in Caribbean theology with respect to their major problematics, the essential features of their theologies, and the structure of their respective arguments. It is unfortunate that so many of these pioneers remain unknown outside the Caribbean. Lowe-Ching also laments the dearth of female theologians in the region and the subsequent loss of what women could have contributed to ongoing theological debates. Winston D. Persaud offers an acute, critical examination of global theological education, with special reference to the Caribbean context. Of special note are the chapters by Noel Titus and Barry Chevannes who discuss "Our Caribbean Reality." Titus and Chevannes correctly see Caribbean theological education as reflective of historical, cultural, and geographic factors in Caribbean societies. Both stress the importance of context to the development of Caribbean theological education.

It is unfortunate that Gregory was unable to include all of the papers presented at the conference within this volume. Nevertheless, what has been included is valuable and will provide a permanent record of this historic event in the life of the Caribbean Church. Additional biographical information on the contributors as well as a more extensive bibliography would have been useful. The book is highly recommended.

Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage. RICHARD ALLSOPP (ed.), with a French and Spanish supplement edited by Jeanette Allsopp. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. lxxviii + 697 pp. (Cloth US\$ 75.00)

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The Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage (DCEU) applies to twenty-two territories, surveying "over 20,000 words and phrases taken from a region extending from Guyana in South America through the Anglophone Caribbean Islands to the Bahamas and ... Belize" (jacket). This review begins with comments on purpose and scope, then focuses on the most notable strengths and problems of the work, with reference to examples from entries under letters *A* and *M*. The DCEU includes an introduction addressing scope, purpose, methodology, etc.; an essay on "Caribbean English"; a "Glossary of Linguistic Terminology Used in the Dictionary"; "Explanatory Notes"; "Structure of an Entry"; and "Pronunciation." The lexical entries themselves comprise the next 624 pages. References are given short acronym-like abbreviations, used as in-text references for citations. Following this are appendices on the layout of steelband instruments and a list of national symbols of Caribbean states (flags are on the jacket). A 20-page "French and Spanish Supplement" is included, "providing foreign-language equivalents for selected everyday items of flora and fauna listed in the main work" (p. 669). Endpapers are a map, "The Caribbean & Rimlands," and a map and "location list" of sub-Saharan African languages. Many entries are very complex, though considerable care has been taken to reduce duplication for synonyms. The layout of entries is often difficult to follow, despite instructions.

The goal of this work is clearly beyond the word level: "[T]he DCEU should be an inward and spiritual operator of regional integration even more powerful as a signal of unity than a national flag would be. The design of the dictionary therefore seeks to answer at least some important needs at the material level of inter-territorial data for schools, at the academic level of areal linguistic information, and at the executive level of mutual neighbourly knowledge of regional states" (p. xxxi). It must be kept in mind that this dictionary is based on a prescriptive rather than descriptive approach, aimed primarily at the acrolect – "the best level of spoken English ... the educated English of a Caribbean territory ... the best-structured, unaffected speech at wh[ich] a dialect-speaking com-

munity aims" (p. 9). This assumes that some sort of educated English is a widespread target for Creole speakers, and raises questions about acceptability (see below). Ironically it contradicts its own principles, showing ambivalence about including the speech of the vast majority of the population, and reluctantly admitting that the divisions – basilect, mesolect, acrolect – made by some linguists are not always as sharply defined as they might seem (p. xxvii).

Criteria for inclusion and labeling include items "known and spoken in each territory but not recorded in the standard British and American desk dictionaries" (p. xxii). This rightly includes specific definitions in specific contexts of usage, e.g. *marry*² "[Rum Ind] To blend professionally for a certain period rums that have been separately matured." But surely the rationale for the inclusion of *alumina*, "powder (aluminum oxide) ... smelted to make aluminium" is simply the importance of this item to the Jamaican economy. Overall, there is excellent inclusion of often overlooked areas, e.g., national honors, interjections and exclamations, children's rhymes and games, religious sects, important landmarks.

"Comprehensiveness" is expressly not an aim of the DCEU; rather, "focus had to be on thoroughness of investigation and the verifiability of the information given in respect of every Entry. This required a *concise description* of ostensive items such as fruit, bird, fish etc. using additional recognition criteria such as use, habitat etc.; and a *contextual definition* of idioms" (p. xxxiv). In this respect, the latter area is clearly more successful than the former. (A small point is the unnecessary inclusion of scientific family names.)

No one could quarrel with the statement that "Practical considerations necessitated selective editing, eliminated items being left hopefully for a larger work at a later time" (p. xxxiv). Coverage by geographical area is somewhat uneven – e.g., Guyana more than Trinidad. Some omitted words are certainly as important and common as others that constitute entries. For example, the *Anegada Passage* ("A passage of very deep sea to the east of Anegada separating the Virgin Islands from the Leeward Islands") is in, but not the *Bocas* (waters between Trinidad and Venezuela). The *Ashanti* are included as an important African group, but not the *Yoruba* or *Mandingo/Madinga*. Given extensive coverage of 'Indic' words, one misses *matikoor* 'earth-digging ceremony in a Hindu wedding,' *machan* 'a wooden support for climbing plants,' and *moortee* 'statue of a Hindu deity.'

Although Allsopp states that the DCEU must not be "constrained by the historical/prescriptive/descriptive categorizations of modern linguistics, nor ... embarrassed by preference for academic conventions over grass-

root Caribbean realities" (p. xxvii), acceptability issues arise immediately. Why should *air conditioning* → *air condition* be marked as X [Erroneous or Disapproved], but not other such shifts, such as *mannersable*, *mannerly* 'mannerly, well behaved'? Good notes are given for many semantic or syntactic shifts in words that appear to be English – e.g., for *madame* "mistress of a household ... wife," it is noted that "CE usage is purely respectful and also prec by *the*."

A good use of space is plentiful cross-referencing, guiding readers to fuller entries for variant spellings and synonyms. For example, the entry *all*^{3.5} includes the phrase *all (is) (the) same khaki pants*, also listed under both *khaki pants* and *same*. Particularly helpful are collocations/phrases, such as those with *make*; under *eyes make four*, for example, the reader is referred to *eye*. This is a good criterion, to place the main entry under *make* only if the phrase is not understandable from putting together the constituent parts. Thus, *make a pappyshow of* is referred to *pappyshow*, but *make noise in your head* is properly placed under *make*: "5.21.1 [Esp of children] To disturb you with their din; to be noisily troublesome."

Allsopp cautions that "an entry-item labelled as *CarA* (Caribbean) is not to be taken as being in use in all, perhaps not even in most Caribbean territories, but rather in too many to list conveniently ... if it appears to have no occurrence in Jamaica, The Bahamas or Belize, it has been labelled *ECar* (Eastern Caribbean)" (pp. li-iii). This may give some misleading impressions. For example, the entry for *aerated drink/water* (*CarA*) notes that this is giving way to *soft drink*, *sweet drink*; this is definitely not so in Trinidad, where *sweet drink* has been well established for decades and shows no signs of shifting, thus obscuring the possibility that the direction of diffusion is from Trinidad to other territories.

Allsopp gives a good discussion (pp. xxxii-xxxiii) about difficulties of and strategies for dealing with African etymons. Some are relatively easy to recognize, e.g., *agidi* (a kind of pudding) (Yoruba/Hausa). Many more are hidden in calques or loan-translations such as *hard-ears* 'stubborn.' Sometimes the counterbalance can swing too far, however. For example, the etymology for *majoe-bitter*//*bitter-bush*, is given as "Prob of W Afr orig. Cp ZAGL Gã ṇmāšū 'herb used by fetish-priest,' also TAGD Mende *madzo* 'the leading woman of the Sande, a female society into wh nearly all the girls are initiated'." These semantic and phonological connections are tenuous; there should at least have been a consideration of *maljo* 'evil eye.' Some etymons are simply missed. For example, the entry for *aropo* (Trin) "A dance of Sp origin performed in some areas of Trinidad" gives a possible etymology as "[Perh < Sp *arobo*, 'rapture, ecstasy']." This is

from Sp *joropo*, the same type of dance, and is almost always spelled *horopo* or *joropo*.

The inclusion of many spelling variants is an enormous help in finding the entries for words, but the DCEU has numerous inconsistencies – e.g., *mako* ‘nosy person’ but *mac(c)ocious* ‘nosy.’ Furthermore, why is the spelling *ain’(t)* preferred for this negator (of variable pronunciation), rather than *ent*? Not only would this mitigate the stigma applied to the English *ain’t*, but it would emphasize Allsopp’s point that “its function in CE is much wider than in IAE [Internationally Accepted English] and ... is indispensable in the most serious speech of less educated persons)” (p. 18).

The flora and fauna entries, including the Supplement, are fraught with errors – wrong referents and incorrect descriptions. For example, *anole* (*anoli(s)*) (Gren, St.Lu)//*zandoli* (Dmca, St.Lu, Trin) is defined as the common tree lizard, grey (*Anolis aeneus*) or green (*Anolis richardi*), or yellowish. The entry notes that “In St. Lucia most tree-lizards are called ‘zandoli’.” This may hold for Dominica and St. Lucia; it definitely does not for Trinidad, where such anoles are called *garden lizard* or *tree lizard* (or nothing, as virtually all anoles are relatively recent introductions) and where *zandoli* refers only to the large ground lizard *Ameiva ameiva atrigularis*. The snakes are given the hardest treatment. *Macajuel* (Trin) is defined as “The boa constrictor or anaconda”; these are two different snakes – the *macajuel* and the *huille*, respectively. The *macajuel* is not *Constrictor constrictor* but *Boa constrictor constrictor*. “Anaconda,” *Eunectes murinus*, is not only a SE name, but is more commonly called *huille* in Trinidad, and *water camoodi* in Guyana, neither of which are included as DCEU entries.

Some errors result in false synonymies. For example, *all-in-one* is defined as “A meal in wh ends of meat, vegetable, peas and rice are boiled together in one pot.” *Calalu* is noted as a synonym for Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Vincent, and Trinidad. However, this is not true for Trinidad, where the meaning given in *calalu*² “A very thick soup made of calalu I. or dasheen leaves” is correct, and where the given definition for *all-in-one* would be close to that of Trin *cook-up*.

In some cases, a lexical item in CE that overlaps usage and meaning(s) with SE is not so marked, giving the impression that it is CE only. For example, *average*, for (Bdos, Guyn, Trin) is marked X: “Estimated length of time. a. In 1969, I returned to Trinidad on two occasions, spending an average of three weeks here on each occasion. b. Well, you have to take an average of how long that amount would have to boil before you have to put in sugar. c. Well A lie do[w]ng de[re] wid dis average dat de train won[t] pass till five o’clock.” The usage in *a* is IAE, that in *b* is Creole/CE,

and in *c*, the definition as given cannot replace the word in the sentence. Sometimes SE overlaps are not adequately noted, as in the entry for *march* – “2.1. march yourself ... To go resolutely (about sth); to act officiously. a. Just tell that boy to march himself inside and change his clothes before he starts playing.” The etymology mentions only “[Cp Yoruba *ko ara re kuro* ‘collect and take away yourself, similarly used].” However, this is exactly the same, semantically and syntactically, in SE. Some difficulties arise from an apparent lack of familiarity with – or acceptance of – AmEng and colloquial SE registers – e.g., *be man enough to (do sth)* “To be bold, courageous enough to (do sth)” – as equal to BrE.

No dictionary is ever done; the lexicographer simply declares it (temporarily) finished. But give Jack his jacket: the DCEU is a real achievement. May it stimulate much pride, and of course, further research. (A paperback version is planned.)

Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction. JACQUES ARENDS, PIETER MUYSKEN & NORVAL SMITH (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995. xiv + 412 pp. (Cloth US\$ 79.00, Paper US\$ 29.95)

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Pidgins and Creoles (henceforth PC), the fifteenth volume in the Creole Language Library, is an accessible, richly documented introduction to the study of language contact, with a definite focus on Atlantic creoles, a welcome counterpart to previous introductions, such as Mühlhäusler's (1986) or Romaine's (1988), both of which primarily address Pacific creoles. PC provides an updated comprehensive coverage of historical and theoretical aspects of pidgin-creole (henceforth pc) development, as well as a comparative analytical dimension based on eight case studies illustrating a broad geographical range of Atlantic creoles. The three editors contribute fourteen out of twenty-six chapters, all written by linguists from the University of Amsterdam.

Perhaps the most valuable aspect of PC is that it can be used both as a textbook and as a data base for an introduction to sociolinguistics, or a more specialized course on contact languages. Even in a more advanced

course, it would provide an excellent review of the multidisciplinary nature of pc studies, and trigger many challenging questions.

PC is divided into five sections; the first addresses sociohistorical, educational, and various other aspects of pcs (seven chapters); the second is an overview of current theories of genesis (four chapters); the third includes eight case studies; the fourth highlights selected grammatical features; and the fifth (two chapters) presents conclusions and a valuable list of creoles, pidgins, and mixed languages. The book follows a natural and easy progression: most of the crucial fundamentals about contact languages are outlined before the sketches of individual languages, which cover variable aspects of phonology, syntax and lexicon, and include reference to a wide scattering of Atlantic pcs ranging from Greenland to East Africa (thus somehow extending the notion of "Atlantic").

In the introduction Pieter Muysken and Norval Smith argue that although pcs have developed through violent social breaks in the natural development of language, their linguistic structure is not clearly distinguishable from that of other languages. This is an important point in light of claims that certain properties are characteristic of creole languages (for example, all pcs are claimed to share structural features, and to have generally simple, but mixed variable grammars). Those stereotypes are not always based on adequate comparisons with other languages. In fact, creoles which are typically oral vernaculars are often compared to the formal aspects of their lexifiers rather than to casual forms of those superstrates. When casual forms are taken into account differences are not so important (see Escure 1997).

The first section includes diverse perspectives: sociohistorical (Jacques Arends), educational (René Appel and Ludo Verhoeven), descriptive (Peter Bakker on pidgins; Bakker and Muysken on language intertwining; Vincent de Rooij on variation), and literary (Lilian Adamson and Cefas van Rossem). Adamson and Van Rossem (Chapter 8) span the traditional gap between literature and linguistics by pointing out various modes of oral and written literary expression in the Caribbean. De Rooij (Chapter 5) provides a critical outline of the concept of continuum, contrasting the unidimensional and the multidimensional perspectives; it is implied that the former is mostly about "discovering the structure of variation," whereas the latter gives priority to "sociopsychological processes" – a distinction which in my opinion is not widely validated, because most creolists are interested in the inextricable combination of linguistic and extralinguistic factors leading to the development of creole continua.

Part II is a succinct, straightforward overview of theories of pc genesis, covering monogenetic and polygenetic approaches (Hans den Besten,

Muysken, and Smith focusing on European influences; Arends, Silvia Kouwenberg, and Smith on non-European input), gradualist developmental hypotheses (Arends and Adrienne Bruyn), and universalist approaches, including semantic transparency and the bioprogram hypothesis (Muysken and Tonjes Veenstra).

The eight case studies presented in the third section contribute excellent illustrations of creoles with diverse lexifiers: Haitian (with French lexifier) by Muysken and Veenstra; Saramaccan (with English/Portuguese lexifiers) by Bakker, Smith, and Veenstra; Fa d'Ambu (with Portuguese lexifier) by Marike Post; Papiamentu (with Portuguese/Spanish lexifiers) by Kouwenberg and Muysken; Sranan (with English lexifier) by Adamson and Smith; Berbice Dutch (with Dutch lexifier) by Kouwenberg; and two unusual contact languages: Shaba Swahili by De Rooij (different from other creoles in that its substrate languages and Bantu lexifiers are closely related) and Eskimo pidgin by Hein van der Voort (a variety no longer spoken, but attested by eighteenth-century materials, which is a contact-induced result of polysynthetic and agglutinating Inuit and Quallunaat languages).

The specific presentation of grammatical features in Part IV is comparative, reviewing a good amount of prior work involving morphosyntax. However, there is no phonological counterpart to Part IV that would pull together the various phonetic and phonological features (clusters, tone, etc.) mentioned in the case studies in Part III. This grammatical bias indeed reflects accurately the slant toward grammar represented in pc studies: the morphosyntax and lexicon have universally been privileged, perhaps because crossvariety similarities are so striking at these levels, and at least superficially distant from their lexifiers. Another understudied component in pc studies is discourse pragmatics (Escure 1997).

Overall, this is a fine and useful collection, and the presentation and style of PC are clear, vivid, and engaging, providing the right balance between concrete examples and theoretical perspectives.

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Die iberoromanisch-basierten Kreolsprachen: Ansätze der linguistischen Beschreibung. ANGELA BARTENS. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995. vii + 345 pp. (Paper US\$ 61.95)

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This book, a slightly revised version of a dissertation defended at the University of Göttingen (Germany) in 1994, is a descriptive and comparative study of the major Iberian (i.e. Portuguese- and Spanish-based) creole languages of the world. As far as the contemporary non-Iberian literature is concerned, it is the most extensive treatment of this topic (cf. Holm 1989, where some sixty pages are devoted to these languages). It is a welcome contribution because the Iberian creoles, in particular the Portuguese-based ones, are still often neglected by creolists. This state of affairs is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that the Lusophone creoles, having developed in the wake of the Portuguese expansion, were the very first European-based creole languages to emerge. As such, they offer an opportunity to gain better insight into the genetic history of all European-based creoles, not just those that are lexically based on Portuguese.

The core of the book is formed by eighteen chapters, each of which is devoted to one particular (group of) creole(s). In terms of regional distribution the Iberian creoles of Africa receive the largest amount of attention (120 pages), while those of Asia and of Latin America and the Caribbean are allotted 65 and 95 pages, respectively. Among the languages most relevant for the readers of this journal are (semi-)creoles such as Papiamentu, Palenquero, and Popular Brazilian Portuguese, and the restructured "creoloid" varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin America and the Caribbean, such as *habla bozal*. Each chapter begins with a section providing extralinguistic (including historical) information on the language(group) under discussion, followed by sections on phonology (sound structure), morphosyntax (word and sentence structure), and lexicon (vocabulary). The lion's share of the morphosyntax sections is devoted to the verbal system of the languages in question: roughly half of the descriptive part of the book is taken up by this topic, the other half being left for the treatment of lexicon, phonology, and non-verbal aspects of morphosyntax (e.g., word order, articles, pronouns, question words). The discussion of the

verbal system focuses on the expression of tense, mood, and aspect,¹ reflecting the important role this part of creole syntax plays in creole studies, especially in debates concerning creole genesis.

It should be noted that the author, as she herself readily acknowledges, has no firsthand knowledge of any of the languages treated in her book; it is entirely based on secondary information. Although this detracts from the reliability of the information provided, the book has some features which will hopefully limit the risks inherent in this approach, such as its terminological precision, its neutral style of exposition, and its detailed references. As is clear from the bibliography, which lists over 450 items, the author has used a wide variety of sources – in Portuguese, Spanish, German, French, English, Dutch, and (rare in creolists' publications) Finnish.

The need for readers to be careful in relying on the information provided in this book is evident from the section on Saramaccan, an English-based creole of Suriname, whose inclusion in the book (on the grounds that its vocabulary contains a fair share of Portuguese-derived words) is questionable to begin with. What is worse, most of the generally acknowledged experts on this language, such as Smith and Voorhoeve, are completely ignored in the discussion. As a result, this section contains some serious errors, such as the claim (p. 236) that 325,000 (rather than 225,000) slaves were imported into Suriname (cf. Postma 1990). Also, Bartens makes some grotesque claims with regard to the structure of the language – e.g., that early Saramaccan did not have prepositions or complementizers (p. 240-41). In some cases, she even confuses Saramaccan with its sister language Sranan, e.g., where the particles *za*, *zi*, *ze*, *zey* are mentioned as future markers (p. 242).

A major criticism of the book as a whole concerns its poor accessibility. For an encyclopedic work such as this it is absolutely vital to provide an extensive index and/or a detailed table of contents (preferably both). Readers whose language competence does not include Spanish and Portuguese will be frustrated to find that example sentences are provided only with their original translation, which is often in one of the Iberian languages. From a linguist's point of view, the omission of so-called morpheme translations (whose purpose is to provide insight into the grammatical structure of sample sentences) is almost a mortal sin.

Bartens's book reminds us that creole studies is in dire need of comprehensive descriptions of the Iberian (especially the Portuguese-based) creoles, some of which (e.g., those of India) have either died out or are on the verge of extinction. Only this can provide us with the empirical foundation that is needed for the approach advocated by Bartens in this

book to succeed. Perhaps even more importantly, a better insight into the history and structure of the Iberian creoles will enable us to develop a more balanced view of the process of creole genesis itself.

NOTE

1. All three categories refer to the event (action, situation) expressed by the main verb of a sentence; roughly speaking, tense refers to its location in time (e.g., past), mood refers to its reality (e.g., realis), and aspect refers to its internal temporal character (e.g., progressive).

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Le roman marron: Études sur la littérature martiniquaise contemporaine. RICHARD D.E. BURTON. Paris: L'Harmattan. 1997. 282 pp. (Paper n.p.)

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Given the current ideological fascination with globalization that is sweeping academic institutions, there seems little interest these days in studying the peculiarities of the many villages that make up that frequently invoked commonplace, "the global village." It is, therefore, at once startling and refreshing to see an important critical work that focuses on a specific locale as does Richard Burton's study of contemporary Martiniquan literature. The fate of Martinique is telling in the current fashion of silencing, as it were, the individual trees at the expense of the global forest. For instance, the names of Fanon and Césaire are invoked in innumerable studies of colonial, post colonial, and subaltern discourse with an increasing obliousness to the origins of these now mythical Third World thinkers. The

obliteration of the island origins for these intellectuals is so complete that Édouard Glissant must point out to his readers at the beginning of his *Caribbean Discourse* that "Martinique is not a Polynesian island."

The strength of Burton's study is that it reminds us that Césaire is as much as anything else a local politician who guided Martinique from colonial backwater to overdeveloped overseas department, from a rural, agricultural society to a tertiarized, consumer economy. It is against the background of the paradoxical politics of the father of Négritude that the major preoccupations of the contemporary movement of Créolité need to be understood. It is this movement that forms the main focus of Burton's book and rightly so as it is the only important literary movement in the Caribbean at the present time and has been responsible for producing fiction of outstanding quality since the late 1980s. The single most evident feature of the ideology of Créolité is its desire to contest the discourse of Négritude or what amounts to Césaire's legacy after fifty years of political domination of Martinique. What Burton's book traces is the nature of this contestation through the symbolic representation of the figure of the maroon first mythologized as a founding father by Césairean Négritude and later marginalized in the revisionist theorizing of Créolité.

Burton's study, as the title implies, does not aspire to be an exhaustive treatment of contemporary Martiniquan writing. It really focuses on the theme of marronage or rather the pervasiveness of what Burton calls a "marronist" discourse, even among those who oppose the poetics of Négritude. Also it would be misleading to present this study as a sober, dispassionate account of Martinique's cultural politics. Rather, Burton's book is provokingly polemical, perhaps regrettably so at times, as it accuses the main proponent of post-Négritude theorizing, Édouard Glissant, of not living up to the conceptual possibilities of his own ideas, and one member of the Créolité movement, Patrick Chamoiseau, of a nostalgia for an essentialist discourse camouflaged behind the rhetoric of hybridity, and praises the other major Créoliste, Raphaël Confiant, for post-creole, carnivalesque experimentation. He sets out, therefore, to deflate the pretensions of Créolité rather than to produce a conventional work of literary criticism. In this attempt to demonstrate the durability of binarist thought, Burton's study runs the risk of a schematic reading of ideas and texts which have been perhaps the most powerful antidote to the nativist excesses that characterize much of Caribbean thought in this century.

One cannot help feeling that the real target of this book is the extremism of the Créolité movement which has promoted a redemptive, triumphalist image of itself. In some ways the movement, with no original ideas and formed after the fact, has succeeded beyond its wildest dreams. The

Créolistes, demonstrating a very Martiniquan self-consciousness about relating ideas closely to literary endeavor, have created in their manifesto, *Éloge de la Créolité*, an ideological agenda from a major shift in Caribbean thought that emerged in the ideas of Édouard Glissant. It was Glissant who argued for a departure from a foundational and originary discourse toward a view of the Caribbean in terms of convergence, adaptation, and transformation. This epistemological rupture with the traditional binarist bias of Caribbean poetics has to some extent been turned into an intolerant dogma by the Créolistes. As a result they have argued for a creole plenitude in Martinique that both celebrates a false sense of cultural hegemony and fixes Martinique in terms of a self-indulgent traditionalism.

Burton essentially uses Glissant's problematizing of the concept of heroic resistance to demonstrate the extent to which the Créolistes and Glissant himself fail to live up to the deconstructive contestation of marronage. The study begins with the mythification of the maroon by Césaire and the practitioners of this poetics of resistance as well as a historical consideration of the reality of marronage that is not really necessary in this exploration of a particular ideological construct. Burton remains ambivalent on Glissant, who complicates an old binarism but seems invariably drawn, in Burton's view, to systematizing and didacticism in later fiction to the extent that the novel *Tout-monde* is condemned as a "roman à thèse." This charge is repeated in the case of Chamoiseau who is accused of a "dualisme réductionniste" in his highly successful novel *Texaco*. The last section of the book is devoted to Confiant who is deemed post-creole because of the ludic, Rabelaisian elements in his fiction which makes him superior to the "trop schématique Chamoiseau." There is, mercifully, no conclusion – only an exchange of letters that suggests where the quarrel might have begun. Ultimately, Burton's study is as exciting in its polemical thrust as it appears at times disconcertingly reductionist. He surely must know that his ideal practitioner of the "roman marron" is also guilty of shameless binarism and that *Texaco* is too good a work to be dismissed as reductionist and schematic. Despite the provocative antics of the Créolistes, these ideas deserve a fuller and less tendentious airing. It seems a pity that the only book we have so far on this movement is one which is not as exhaustive and as thorough as it could be and that it is ironically written by the very person who, because of his brilliant readings of these novels in the past, is still perhaps the best person to write such a book.